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ABSTRACT

The inability of national governments to solve the world's major problems is examined, and various suggestions for solving the problems through an international government and transnational action are discussed. There are four chapters. Chapter 1 discusses changes in international relations which are resulting in a collapse of the "Old Order," for example, nations are no longer masters of their own destinies. Chapters 2 and 3 evaluate the United Nations and other schemes or groups with transnational perspectives, such as World Federalists, Global Citizens Association, Esperanto, which might provide common actions to solve common problems. The concluding chapter describes Alvin Toffler's optimistic forecast of the way in which the world could be heading, calls for a program to be conducted within Australia to make people more aware of the need for a transnational perspective, emphasizes the importance of further education, and points out the need for each person to accept the personal imperative to work for a better world. (RM)

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A NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER:

PROPOSALS FOR MAKING A BETTER WORLD

Keith D. Suter

SP 015 008

World Association of World Federalists (Australia)

110 Talavera Road, North Ryde, N.S.W. Australia 2113

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FOREWORD

It is a pleasure to write a few words to introduce this book. Dr Suter has been involved with world federalist matters for several years and remains active in allied causes both in Australia and overseas.

This book recalls the progress being made in creating a true international community, with one law for one people, with a common outlook. Although the international scene seems gloomy, a great deal of progress is being made to establish a new international order to protect international peace and security.

The World Federalist Movement's history and progress are covered by this book. What is not generally known, is that Australia has had in past years some of the world's most active World Federalist members. It has never been explained fully why world federalism should take root so firmly so far away from where it began, namely the United States and Western Europe.

In Australia, World Federalists operate along six general principles:

First, to encourage other non-governmental organizations (such as

human rights and environment groups) to commit themselves to working not just for reforms within their own areas but for a new international order based on peace and justice, since ultimately it will require a new order to remove many of the underlying causes of today's problems;

Second, to show how contemporary international problems can best be solved by international co-operation;

Third, to encourage politicians to work across party lines to encourage governments to work for international harmony;

Fourth, to publicize positive developments in international affairs, especially where they reveal further progress towards a new international order, such as the creation of the European Parliament and expansion of the UN's Specialized Agencies;

Fifth, to work with like-minded organizations in educational activities to encourage further interest in developing international co-operation; and

Sixth, to show that many quite often have been 'world federalists' for years without knowing it.

No doubt as a result of reading this book, many readers will find that they, too, have been 'world federalists' for years without knowing it. In which case, we would be happy to add your names to our list of members, to send you the literature and to welcome you most warmly among us.

W. J. EASON, A.M., B.A.
Headmaster, Australian International Independent School
President, World Association of World Federalists (Australia).

PREFACE

Today's international problems, like the arms race, energy shortages and environmental pollution, are so dangerous that nobody can win alone but we could all lose together. Trying to solve international problems by being guided by national interests and requirements is not enough. We need to develop new overall visions and transnational perspectives to our common problems, thereby creating a genuine international community. Either we work together or we perish separately. We need world government.

This book is a contribution to the debate over the evolving new international order. It is not concerned specifically with problems such as the arms race or energy shortages. Nor does it look at the suggested programmes for creating new international economic orders or schemes for general and complete disarmament. It looks at the deeper subject of the form of international government necessary to be developed to get the earth safely into the 21st century and beyond.

Far less attention is devoted to this overwhelming issue than to particular issues. Activists who work hard on one issue often overlook its relationship to other issues. Compartmentalization and specialization inhibit activists as much as they do governments and scholars.

Additionally, many people feel threatened by the very thought of world government. They fear some '1984'-type dictatorship, entailing massive wars, human rights violations and general chaos. Inadequate national governments have given all forms of government a bad name. This book attempts to show that the present international problems are due not so much to the persons in national governments but from the fact that national governments, all parts of the nation-states system, themselves militate against the solution of the problems they are tackling. They are not providing the answers: they are the biggest part of the problem.

For many years, World Federalist organizations and others have been saying that world problems can be solved only by some form of world government, that the problems are too complex to be left to national governments alone. This book provides evidence of the failure of the present international system and some suggestions for a possible new international order: a new world government. These proposals for making a better world are diverse, often contradictory and all fall short of implementation. But it is necessary for consideration to be given now to the sort of world we want.

A new international order is already being created, whether we like it or not. The new international order will be established by disaster, drift or design. This book is designed to help responsible people guide the world into a better era.

I would like to thank the following people for their help in producing this book: Ron Colman, Beryl Daley, Bill Eason AM, Doug Everingham MP, Stephen Semler, Ruth Haig, Brenda Pittard and Philip Fox.

KEITH D. SUTER

Chairman, World Association of World Federalists (Australia)
Member, Association of World Federalists (UK)
Vice President, United Nations Association of Australia
Member, Westminster Branch, United Nations Association (UK)
President, Planetary Citizens — Australia
Member, Editorial Advisory Board, *World Peace News*, (New York)
Member, Global Citizens Advisory Group (Canada)
Member, Emergency World Council (The Hague).

For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be;
Saw the heavens fill with commerce, argosies of magic sails,
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales;
Heard the heavens fill with shouting, and there rain'd a ghastly dew
From the nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue . . .
Till the war drum throbbed no longer and the battle flags were furled
In the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the world.

Locksley Hall,
Alfred, Lord Tennyson (1809-1892)

CHAPTER ONE

TO BUILD THE EARTH

Introduction

The Age of Nations is past, the task before us now, if we would not perish, is to shake off our ancient prejudice to build the earth.
(Teilhard de Chardin, 1931)

A new international order is being created. It is difficult to see fully what form it will take. But some outlines are already clear.

In the 1980s we are, in some respects, like an English person in the 1780s. The industrial revolution was underway (though at the time the phrase had not been coined) and great changes were taking place. No one could foresee clearly what England would look like in a century's time, or how wealthy it would be. Indeed, contemporary commentators, noting the failure to stop the American War of Independence, were claiming that England would soon be a minor power, poor without its colonies. By 1881, England was the super power, with another empire, upon which the sun would never set. In two centuries, England has gone from a middle-ranking economic and military power, to the world's greatest power, and is now once

again a middle-ranking economic and military power.

The United States is another example of a nation which has changed a great deal in the last two centuries. 200 years ago its 13 colonies had still not won independence. A century ago it was recovering from civil war. About 50 years ago, however, its economic power encouraged people to talk of the 'American century' (as the 19th century was apparently the 'British century'). In more recent years, though, the US's economic and military power has declined relative to that of other nations.

Nothing lasts forever. The Age of Nations is coming to an end. It is not possible to predict accurately what will replace the system of nation-states. It is certainly not the purpose here to make such predictions. Accurate predictions are difficult to make. At the beginning of World War I, for example, there was no tank in existence but, at the end, there was little cavalry. At the beginning of World War II, there were no rockets, and atomic explosions were considered science fiction: the latter stages of the conflict were notable for both.

Some people, aware of the great shifts in the world order now taking place, have devised plans for a new world order. Some of these plans are based on improving the United Nations but many go beyond reforming the UN and are more radical.

This book is not so much concerned with predicting how the new world order *may* develop, but speculating instead on how it *should* develop. It is less concerned with contemporary factors, such as war, inflation and destruction of the environment and far more concerned with proposals for improving our capacity for resolving these problems. It provides an overview of the main trends in the strategies proposed for establishing a new world order. These strategies vary considerably; but they all start from a recognition that the Age of Nations is ending and that one way or another a new system will be needed to replace it.

The rest of this chapter contains some general comments on the strategies put forward for world order. It also looks at the collapse of the old international order and the new features of international relations. The second chapter looks at the next stage of the world's

evolution: the United Nations. In the debates that led to the UN's formation, the weaknesses of a league (or confederation) were pointed out. But national feeling was too strong and the more logical, and to some more radical, idea of a world federation was rejected. The UN's weaknesses have subsequently become obvious and many ways of reinforcing them have been suggested. Some of these proposals are examined in the second chapter. Other suggestions are reviewed in chapter three. Chapter four contains information on what can be done in Australia.

It is not this book's purpose to provide a detailed overview of the valuable work conducted by the League of Nations or United Nations; rather the purpose is to paint a picture of the underlying basis of these organizations.

This book provides an alternative way of looking at the world's problems. Instead of looking at each problem on its own, it takes one of the significant themes of world politics: the inability of national governments to solve the world's major problems. Rather than present a dreary catalogue of those problems and the governments' failures, it focusses more on the positive side of that catalogue: the various suggestions for solving the problems by transnational action. The book calls for a world view on world affairs.

This is not an anti-United Nations tract. Criticizing the UN for not solving problems it was not designed to solve, is a common but futile activity. The UN, with its transnational perspectives, points the way the world must go. The book looks at the UN in the wider context of other schemes with a transnational perspective, to provide common actions to solve common problems.

Strategies for World Order

The way to promote world community is to have world government. But since we, as private citizens, cannot establish a world government, the next best thing we can do to promote world community is to talk about world government. World discussion of world government, far from disrupting the world, may have some chance of uniting it; for the consideration of what is necessary to unite the world, the discussion of a common problem of overwhelming importance, should lead to a growing sense of

community among all peoples.

An important reason for talking about world government is that nobody knows what it is. Should a world government aim at limited measures designed to maintain what is called security, or is security itself dependent on the pursuit of broader purposes? Should a world state be federal or unitary, or should it, perhaps, contain the best features of each? What should be the relation of the world government to the citizens of extant states? What taxing powers shall the world state have, and what orders of military forces, if any? This list of questions can be prolonged indefinitely, and there are countless possible answers to each of them. Yet some people say world government is wonderful while others say world government is impossible. It may be that many of the proposed forms of world government would be something less than wonderful; and yet it may be that some satisfactory form of world government is possible. The only way to find out whether any form of world government is possible and practicable in our time is to talk about it and to work at it.

Such discussion cannot legitimately be interpreted as an attack upon the United Nations. We must support the United Nations; it is all we have. We support it, not because it can guarantee peace, but because it is a highly tentative first step towards world government and world law. The notion that if only we do not say anything about it the United Nations will in some way, while nobody is looking, turn gradually into an effective world government is surely naive. Constitution-framing is a highly technical problem. The organization of sentiment for a new national constitution is a matter of time, thought and effort. And when the task must be carried forward on a global scale we realize that no matter how soon we start we may still be too late.

The world is not only divided between people of different ideologies, between rich and poor, tribe and tribe, east and west (or north and south), between the old and the young, male and female, black and whites; it is essentially divided between, on the one hand, people motivated by blind self-interest that can only lead to destruction, and those on the other hand, who are aware of the need, now more urgent than ever before, to pursue objectives vital to the overall interest of mankind.

Collapse of the Old Order

We are living in one of the most exciting periods in human history. The next few years and decades will be among the most colourful and dramatic ever experienced in the last 5,000 years. We are witnessing the collapse of the old international order and the birth of a new international order. The world's current political and economic crises are not temporary inconveniences: they are the birth pangs of a new universal society. Earlier changes, such as the renaissance and the western industrial revolution differed from the current change. They were localized within a region and only later did some of their features spread to other parts of the world. This time, the changes are affecting all areas of the global village, in different ways, at about the same time.

The prevailing international order, whose roots go back about three or four centuries to Europe, has been based on five features. First, it was based on the interaction of nation-states. These units of power controlled the world's main military and economic power. Beyond religious and cultural activities, they also controlled all social aspects of their citizens' lives. All world issues were reduced in essence to issues involving specific nation-states.

Second, the nation-states had virtually complete control over their own domestic affairs. It was accepted that governments did not, other than by military invasion, intervene in the affairs of other recognized nation-states. The international law system was formulated like a set of rules for a club, with governments being the only members of the club. International law was devised only by national governments. International law applied mainly to regulating the behaviour specifically of governments; pirates and diplomats were the only humans covered directly by international law.

Third, force was seen as the main way of bringing about international change. Even during the 19th century, when great progress was made, especially via the Geneva Conventions, to limit the suffering caused to victims of war, the prevailing view was there should be not limitation on the use of war as an instrument of national policy. W. E. Hall, an international lawyer, wrote in 1880 in a much-quoted passage, 'International law has no alternative but to accept war, independently of the justice of its origin, as a relation

which the parties to it may set up, if they choose, and to busy itself only in regulating the effects of the relation'.

Fourth, the gaining of empires and the harsh treatment of people who opposed a colonizer's rule were seen as the international norm. Occasionally some governments thought that another government was going a bit far, such as the treatment of Christians in the Ottoman empire. But no government questioned the principle itself of one nation trying to take over the geographical areas in other parts of the world. Nations boasted about the size of their empires.

Finally, for about the last 500 years western nations have dominated all aspects of global affairs. They devised the international law system, they apportioned the globe among them, they set the cultural standards, and they ensured that the world's economy suited their needs. While some western citizens have consistently criticised western control over the world (such as the anti-slavery movement) they have been overshadowed by the larger aims of their governments.

All these features are changing. Indeed, the rate of change is now so rapid that few can comprehend it.

First, the governments within nations are no longer masters of their own destinies. This book contains information on the growth of international organizations (League of Nations and the United Nations), transnational corporations and non-governmental organizations. Not covered specifically in this book are the growing spiritual, cultural and intellectual centres of influence which have shock waves crossing all national boundaries. There is, for example, a massive religious revival underway, particularly outside the western countries. Christianity and Islam are gaining more converts now than at any time since they were first established. Asia and Africa are aflame with religious passion unknown in Europe for centuries. Meanwhile, there is the growth of mass media, especially the transistor radio, which enables messages to cross boundaries in a way that no other form of communication has ever achieved. During the 1980s, there will be direct transmission of television signals into other countries. Meanwhile, there is the rapid spread of new ideas, such as the 'small is beautiful' cult, which has adherents around the world. There are still delays in obtaining

governmental implementation of these ideas but we should not underestimate their power. In the early 1970s, for instance, there was renewed concern about the depletion of whale herds and an international campaign was launched to 'save the whale'. The campaign received a chilly reception or complete rebuttal from traditionally-minded politicians, and some activists, who regarded this is a minor matter, unworthy of their attention. But the campaign caught the public imagination. This can best be seen in Australia, where there was a small whaling industry in Western Australia and a general belief that people are politically apathetic. By 1981, however, owing to this campaign, the Australian government had banned all Australian whaling, made any Australian involved in whaling anywhere in the world liable to a fine of $100,000, and become one of the most active nations in the International Whaling Commission opposed to whaling. Australia was probably one of the least likely nations in the mid-1970s to become opposed to whaling. Within five years, it was widely respected for its opposition to whaling, with the toughest anti-whaling legislation in history.

Meanwhile, governments are undergoing other traumas, especially in western nations. There is a prevailing belief that governments can no longer govern. In nations where voting is optional, increasing numbers of people are exercising their option not to vote since they have little faith in the candidates. Politicians complain that they get elected to office, but not to power — which remains with public servants, trades unions and business corporations. Meanwhile, there is a collapse of shared values among the electorate. Single-issue groups proliferate, each lobbying candidates and politicians to adopt policies on specific issues (such as abortion, aid for developing countries, saving the environment, and opposing nuclear power) and each candidate and politician has to fit their views to competing claims. In present democracies, leaders do not lead; they follow often in alternating directions. This obliges them to change their views quickly (as in the Australian example of whaling, whereby many politicians suddenly realized that they had to oppose whaling).

The overwhelming short-term trauma is the bankruptcy of western governments (though most other governments also have financial problems). Geoffry Abert in *After the Crash: How to survive and*

prosper during the depression of the 1980s (an international best-seller) has provided frightening information on the US situation. The US National Debt in 1978 was $9,033,000,000,000, and it spent $85,000 per minute paying interest on that Debt. The US Federal Highway Administration estimates it would cost $23 billion to replace the more than 100,000 bridges that are officially classified as dangerous. Almost 27 million new jobs will need to be created in the 1980s to provide employment; 72,000 new jobs each week. American are sinking deeper into personal debts and many young families, faced with the escalating housing costs, have to make a choice between having their own home or a child. Their cities owe $200 billion in debts and there is no historical precedent of any debt of this proportion having been paid off. Affluent people are moving out of cities, so that the tax base is shrinking and the poor have to remain, living off the city services but not providing much tax for the services. In the South Bronx section of New York City, 30 per cent of the families are on some form of welfare and about two-thirds of youth aged between 16 and 21 are unemployed. Americans used to be called the New Romans because of their military and economic power. They still deserve that title since their nation is going the way of the decline and fall of Rome: the governmental bureaucracy is increasing; its foreign power is declining, whereas the Roman Army took over, in the US the military-industrial complex takes over, inflation is increasing; political corruption is rife. People are losing all faith in their political system. The US is the most publicized example of governmental decline, but these comments apply in some degree to all industrial nations, both western and communist.

The second change is that governments no longer have complete authority over their citizens' lives. The best example of this is, of course, the human rights revolution. During this century, especially since the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, there has been growing recognition that governments cannot be trusted to look after the human rights of their own citizens. As with most reforms, the human rights revolution began as a small operation but gathered momentum which outstripped the ideas of many governments which first thought it a good policy. In days of the League of Nations, for instance, the victorious governments thought that dissident minorities in the enemy's empires were a cause of the war and so international machinery should be devised to look after

the complaints of minorities. The League, thinking of the Russian Revolution and its potential for spreading communist thinking among their own workers, created the International Labour Office (now Organization) to improve the conditions of workers and so defuse potential communist trouble-making in their factories. After World War II, the UN believed that a nation which violated human rights of home (such as the Nazis in Germany) would start violating human rights overseas, and so ensured that the UN would have a greater role in protecting human rights everywhere. Human rights violations continue on a massive scale. But whereas in earlier centuries such violations would have been tolerated as an unfortunate fact of life, there is a greater determination now to protect human rights and not to tolerate gross violations. As a result few governments at the UN now try to prevent the UN's involvement in their own affairs by claiming that human rights issues are only domestic issues. Australia tries hard to defend its record on the treatment of Aborigines, for example, while criticizing the Soviet Union's treatment of dissidents, South Africa's racial policies and extermination in Uganda.

Third, there are limits to military power. There is no longer widespread acceptance of the principle that the powerful may take what they can and grant the weak what they must. Although the record of wars since 1945 does not reflect this fact, war is now outlawed as an instrument of national policy. The last formal declaration of war is likely to remain the Soviet Union's declaration of war on Japan in the closing stages of World War II. Since that time, nations have gone to war (now called 'armed conflicts') only in self-defence or to help others (both forms of warfare still being legal). No one boasts about an open invasion of another nation. Additionally, our perception of military power has changed dramatically. The US lost in Vietnam; the British Army (one of the world's most successful anti-guerilla forces) continues to have difficulty defeating a few guerrillas in Northern Ireland; the Soviet Union has still not defeated the native guerillas of Afghanistan; the US could not rescue by military means its diplomats held captive in Tehran; and the Soviet Union has continual problems maintaining order in eastern Europe. And all the major powers seem to be puppets of their minor allies since they are obliged to look after their interests and help them out when necessary, such as the Soviet Union's consumption of Cuban

sugar, such as the US's arming of both Israel and some Arab nations. Meanwhile, the five nuclear powers (US, Soviet Union, Britain, France and China) have immense power, with the US and Soviet Union able to destroy the world, but almost powerless to tackle smaller enemies fighting conventionally or using guerrilla tactics. Ironically, the US keeps its mortal enemy, the Soviet Union, going by selling it grain, sometimes at bargain prices. The US and Australia, among others, opposed the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan but continued to trade with it. The Soviet Union operates secretly with its equally abhorred opponent South Africa to maintain international gold prices (these two nations being the world's main sellers of gold).

Given the limitations of military power, the world has entered an era of negotiation. International politics is conducted at two levels. At one level, mainly in public, some nations oppose others, occasionally by military means but mainly through harsh political statements. But at another level, mainly in private, apparent opponents co-operate for their mutual benefit. 'Cold war' does not interfere with selling gold at high prices, working co-operatively on scientific projects at the South Pole, exploiting the wealth of Siberia, or stopping the spread of disease.

The fourth change in international relations has been an aversion to building empires. This has two main causes. The more obvious is the change in values, in which European belief in its destiny to control the world has given way to acceptance that empire-building is morally wrong. Less obvious, but even more significant, is the realization that trying to control unwilling subjects causes more trouble than it is worth. Western nations replaced their direct control over most of the world by an indirect form of control, by neo-colonialism, by controlling the terms of trade and the international financial system. Owing to the growth of transnational corporations — whose own interests may or may not coincide with those of western nations — western nations are now losing control over the terms of trade and the international system. New forms of control are being devised, such as the Arabs' capacity to buy western sympathy by the sale of their oil. But the age of formal empires has past.

Finally, there has been the overall decline of western influence throughout the world. In much the same way as western ruling elites

have had to adjust to their own poorer citizens having a greater say in the running of western nations, so these nations are having to adjust to other nations having a greater say in running the world. With the increased economic power of the Arabs and Japanese, for example, it is difficult for western nations to make patronizing references to these previously 'inferior' people. At any one time for the past 5,000 years one part of the world has dominated world development. Originally it was the Middle East, then Greece, then Rome, then western continental Europe; last century it was Britain and during this century it has been the US. The balance of power is shifting now towards Asia. Already two out of three of the world's citizens are Asians. With zero population growth, Europe looks like an old aged persons' home, built alongside the Asian kindergarten. Many of the world's remaining mineral-rich nations are in Asia, notably the Soviet Far East, China and Australia. Japan is a world leader in technology. Of the five newly industrialized nations with the best economic growth, four are in Asia. The US's economic links with Asia are increasing as its links with Europe proportionately decrease. Some form of world government will prevent Asia from dominating the world so exclusively as Europe managed to do through centuries. But the 21st century will have a profound Asian tinge.

The question, then, is not whether or not the world should move to some new question of international system. That question is already being decided. The question is, rather, should that system come about through disaster, drift of design? This book is based on the belief that we should work for a new international system based on a design. It does not accept that we have to wait for a disaster (which is how we got the League of Nations and the UN). Nor should we merely drift into an international system, since this may not be of our choosing, nor to our liking.

Arthur Koestler (in *Janus*) noted: 'The most striking indication of the pathology of our species is the contrast between its unique technological achievements and its equally unique incompetence in the conduct of its social affairs. We can control the motions of satellites orbiting distant planets, but cannot control the situation in Northern Ireland. Man can leave the earth and land on the Moon, but cannot cross from East to West Berlin'. This author does not believe — contrary to contemporary doomsters — that the human

story is about to end. It is only beginning. But it will require great changes in our social affairs, especially in so far as they apply to the international system to ensure a satisfactory continuation. Unfortunately, the present problems of all governments have given all forms of government a bad name. But if the earth is to realize its full potential in the 21st century, it will need some form of world government. The next two chapters provide information on how that world government could come about. Without some form of world government, it is pointless to talk about world society in the 21st century.

CHAPTER TWO

THE UNITED NATIONS

The League of Nations

The UN's foundations were laid during World War II. The UN's title was devised by the US President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and was first used in a Declaration by the United Nations which were then 26 nations fighting against the Axis Powers. The title was retained by them for the new international organization they devised towards the end of World War II. The UN officially came into existence on October 24, 1945 — now celebrated internationally as UN Day.

The UN is the second attempt this century to create an international organization. It was preceded by the League of Nations. This, in turn, was another stage in developments taking place in the 19th century and before. It is important to recall the UN's forerunners to get some idea of how the UN itself has evolved.

During the 19th century — which many Europeans regarded as the age of optimism — there was renewed interest in trying to find alternatives to war. The Europeans believed their society had reached a unique level of sophistication and that science and technology held promises of even greater progress and prosperity.

War, by contrast, was seen as a throwback to a dark era. Indeed the technological progress indicated that modern wars could be far more destructive than any previous ones. During the 19th century, then, some progress was made in codifying the centuries of customs and principles relating the ways in which wars were fought, with a view to reducing as far as possible the harmful effects of wars.

A related concern was that of trying to limit the use of war as an instrument of national policy. During the 19th century all governments reserved the right to resort to force if necessary. But there was a growing recognition that, as far as possible, negotiations should take place to avoid major political confrontations. At this time, several European nations were on the last stretch of the great race for empires. Confrontations could easily take place — and in fact did — between imperial powers whose claims overlapped, or apparently overlapped, or between the imperial powers and the newer arrivals, notably Germany, eager to get a place in the sun. Diplomatic gatherings to settle major political differences, such as the division of Africa, took place at irregular intervals during the 19th century from 1815 onwards.

Technological progress was providing another incentive for international co-operation: transport and communications were bringing governments and peoples into closer contact than ever before. In 1815 the Commission for the Navigation of the Rhine (which still exists) was created to supervise navigation on this international river. A similar one was set up in 1856 for the Danube. The International Telegraphic Union was established in 1865. The Universal Postal Union was established in 1874. The International Sugar Union was established in 1902; and the International Office of Public Health in 1907.

This level of co-operation was unique among European nations. They approached all initiatives with reluctance, caution and suspicion. In few instances were governments eager for co-operation. But there was a general recognition that they had little choice but to co-operate with one another.

An important turning point came in August 1914: the outbreak of World War I. Some people predicted *how* the Germans would attack France and Belgium (including Winston Churchill in 1911) and Lord

Fisher, of the British Admiralty in 1912 even predicted to within two months *when* Germany would attack. But evidently no one could predict why an obscure assassination in the Balkans would trigger World War I (especially since earlier Balkan crises had not escalated into major conflicts).

During World War I a number of individuals and private organizations on both sides of the Atlantic discussed ideas for avoiding another headlong rush into war. The significance of their work increased as the war became longer, more destructive and was bringing in its train a series of unexpected changes, such as the Russian Revolution.

Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, in particular, liked some of the new ideas and led the drive for a new organization: the League of Nations. Writers over the centuries have suggested some form of international organization to maintain international peace and security. World War I made the need evident and urgent. It is notable that much of the preparatory work for the League came from non-governmental sources — the UN, by contrast, was a governmental project from the outset. During World War I talk of an international organization was too novel for governments; by World War II, however, the Allied governments decided that a new international organization was so important, and so crucial to their post-war policies, that they organized it themselves.

The authors of the League's Covenant, noting that they were launching an untried experiment, refrained from hindering its future development. The treaty had only 26 Articles, which gave a broad outline of the League's powers and responsibilities but left some scope for growth.

The Covenant's authors, however, made a decision which vitally underpins much of this author's concern. They decided that the League should be a number of nations acting collectively. It was to become a clearing house for action by governments. But the Covenant had two limitations. First, it did not envisage the League as a corporate body and so made few provisions for united action. The League was seen as a more permanent form of the conference diplomacy which characterized 19th century international relations.

The UN, by contrast, was set up specifically to act as a body corporate and its Charter's 111 Articles read more like the basis of a unified organization. For example, the League made few efforts at economic and social work; the International Labour Organization and the protection of minorities being its main achievements. The UN, by contrast, devotes about 90 per cent of its money and personnel to economic and social work.

The other limitations of the Covenant was the use of the nation-state as the basis of the League. (The UN is exactly the same in this respect). International affairs consisted of, in effect, two units of account: individuals and nation-states. A third possibility was minority populations within nation-states who preferred self-government. Dissident minorities in the Austro-Hungarian empire were held partly responsible for starting World War I and so the League was given the task of assisting minorities in former enemy territory. But most of the world's people did not live in so easily identified minority groupings and minorities as such were not regarded as so important as units of account as individuals and nation-states.

Subject to those limitations the League of Nations was the great political and social experiment of the period between the two World Wars.

The United Nations

During World War II, the Allied governments decided that a replacement for the League of Nations was essential for peace. Instead of the UN being (as the League was) a collection of nations primarily concerned with political matters, which acted, more or less, individually, the UN should act collectively in matters not only of a political nature, but also of a social and economic nature. It was thought the economic and social issues were often the causes of conflicts, that attention should be given not only to maintaining international peace and security but also to eradicating the causes of war.

The UN's purposes are: to maintain international peace and security, to develop friendly relations among nations, to co-operate internationally in solving international economic, social, cultural

and humanitarian problems and in promoting respect for human rights, and to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations to attain these common ends.

The UN consists of six main organs. The *General Assembly* is composed of all UN member-nations. It is the main deliberative organ of the UN and its decisions, though not binding on nations, set the tone for international action. It meets each year from September to December and may also meet in special sessions to discuss emergency issues.

The *Security Council* has the primary responsibility for maintaining peace and security. It consists of 15 nations. Five are permanent members (Britain, China, France, Soviet Union and United States) and the other 10 are elected by the General Assembly for two-year terms.

The *Economic and Social Council* (ECOSOC), under the General Assembly's authority, co-ordinates the UN's economic and social work, including the proliferating activities of the specialized agencies such as the old International Telecommunications Union, the Universal Postal Union, the World Meteorological Organisation and the International Labour Organization. Created since the UN was established are, among others, Food and Agricultural Organization, the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the World Health Organization, the International Civil Aviation Organization and the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization. ECOSOC also co-ordinates the UN's functional commissions, for example, the Commission on Human Rights and the Commission on the Status of Women. It also co-ordinates the UN's four regional economic commissions. (Australia belongs to the Commission for Asia and the Pacific).

The *International Court of Justice*, based at the Hague (The Netherlands), is the UN's principal judicial body. It was inherited from the League of Nations and was called the Permanent Court of International Justice. It is open only to UN member-nations and other nations which are parties to its Statute. It also provides advisory opinions on legal questions for UN bodies.

The *Trusteeship Council* supervises the administration of UN

Trust Territories. After World War I, it was agreed that the non-European empires of the defeated nations should be prepared for independence by the League, which delegated this task to certain nations. Australia, for example, took over German New Guinea. The Mandate System changed its named to Trusteeship System when the UN inherited it from the League. It is notable that the UN has had more success in bringing independence to its Trust Territories than the League had.

Some commentators saw the Mandate System as an indirect way of acquiring German and Turkish colonies, rather than really preparing them for independence. Australia, for example, did little to prepare New Guinea for independence and, instead, treated it like its adjoining colony Papua. But the UN has managed to liberate all its eleven Trust Territories, except for the Pacific Islands (Micronesia) which is administered by the United States and which seems to be on the verge of independence. Namibia (South-West Africa) was acquired by South Africa as a mandate but abused its responsibility, including introducing its *apartheid* race system, and the UN has created a separate system for handling this question.

Finally, the *Secretariat* services the UN bodies and administers the programmes and policies laid down by them. The UN Secretary-General heads this staff and is appointed by the General Assembly on the Security Council's recommendation. The UN has approximately 10,000 Secretariat members deployed in New York and other posts around the world. With such a wide range of staff, he is more than just an administrator and can have, if he exercises it, an important political role. Looking at the role of UN Secretary-General, U Thant (in his memoirs: *View From the UN*), made the following observations about the UN Secretary-General's role based on his experience as the third person to hold that post (and the first Asian to do so):

> It is worth recalling that in the early stages of drafting the Charter, President Roosevelt suggested that the chief officer of the United Nations should be called 'Moderator', and I know of no better single word to describe my own conception of this office. Partly because of my training and background, and partly because of my experience of the United Nations in action, I have always felt that the most important political duty of the Secretary

> General is to concentrate on the harmonizing function of the United Nations, as set out in Article I (4) of the Charter. It defines one of the purposes of the United Nations 'to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations'. President Roosevelt's suggestion exactly fitted my idea and conception of the Secretary-General's role, but it was not accepted by the framers of the Charter . . .
>
> There is a widespread illusion that the Secretary-General is comparable to the head of a government. He is often criticized for failure to take an action — when over 130 sovereign member states collectively fail to act. The plain fact is that the United Nations, and the Secretary-General, have none of the attributes of sovereignty and no independent power, although the Secretary-General has, and must retain, his independence of judgment, and must never become the agent of any particular government or group of governments. No parliament enacts for the Secretary-General the *enforceable* legislation that provides a prime minister with precise directives. No clear-cut policy illuminates his course of action. He is supported by none of the great permanent establishments of a state, and often lacks the first-hand sources of information upon which governments can base their plans. More often than not, he faces the conflicts of the present or the problems of the future with vague or nonexistent directives, with an inadequate budget, and, in the case of some peace-keeping operations or of vast relief problems, with resources based solely on voluntary contributions. These are some of the limitations of the Secretary-General.

The UN's first task is to 'maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace'. The UN is often the waste paper basket of governments; problems which are too hard for governments to solve are then handed over to the UN. The UN often only receives problems after governments have made a mess of them. (They then often complain

about the UN's delay in solving them!)

Second, it is the main international forum for an exchange of views. UN debates can focus the world's attention upon matters of world-wide concern, because of the attention given them by the mass media. In this way, for example, the protection of the environment, which the UN took up in the late 1960s, became one of the world's main concerns in the 1970s.

Third, there is the peaceful settlement of disputes. The UN has been involved as a third party in over one hundred disputes since 1945. Missions of fact-finding and inquiry were sent to Cambodia, Eritrea, South Vietnam and the Yemen; Good Offices were used in Indonesia and Korea; mediators have been used in the Middle East and Cyprus; special representatives have tried to facilitate settlement in Bahrain and in Cyprus, between Iran and Iraq, in Equatorial Guinea, Lebanon and the Yemen; UN missions or commissions have been used in Aden, Eritrea, India and Pakistan, Indonesia, Korea and Palestine; the UN supervised elections or organized plebiscites in Burundi, Cameroons, Equatorial Guinea, Rwanda and Togoland and has given advice on constitutional matters in the Congo.

There have also been instances when the UN Secretary-General or his representatives conducted informal negotiations. U Thant used his good offices in the 1961 Cuban missile crisis (involving the US and Soviet Union) and was thanked by the leaders of both countries for his help. Other disputes which the Secretary-General helped to solve include the dispute between Guinea and the Ivory Coast over the detention of Guinea statesmen in 1967, the dispute between the UK and Iran over the future status of Bahrain in 1970 and the potential disputes over hijacking cases in Algiers and Syria in 1968 and 1969. More recently the Secretary-General has used his good offices with the Turkish and Greek leaders in Cyprus and with the Israelis and the Arabs in the Middle East.

Fourth, the UN has been successful in persuading most UN member states to accept the principle of self-determination and opposition to colonialism. Its stand against minority rule in southern Africa has not yet solved the problems of that area but it has encouraged nationalist movements in their struggle for majority rule. UN recognition has given these movements a status in the world

community, and this will undoubtedly be acknowledged by future governments in southern Africa when self-determination has been achieved.

Finally, there is (as previously noted) the hardly reported sunken iceberg of the UN's work on economic and social development. But the problem is gigantic. In the past, the inequalities between societies were relatively minor since all were at the pre-industrial stage; the ratio between the average income of the richest and poorest was approximately 3 to 1. At the present time, however, the ratio between average per capita income in the most and least developed countries often stands in the region of 30 to 1, rising in extreme cases to as much as 80 or 90 to 1. There are also inequalities between different social categories within each nation. The very fact that there are still some 800 million illiterates in the world and that this number, far from decreasing, has, because of population growth, slightly increased over the past few years constitutes the most glaring inequality as far as education is concerned. Inequality between the sexes in regard to education also remains widespread.

In no field of international co-operation have more spectacular results been achieved than in mankind's fight against his most ubiquitous enemy, disease. Yet, less than a hundred years ago, any world system of collective defence against disease would have seemed as far away as Utopia. Between 1851 and 1891, to cope with the major epidemics of cholera which swept over Europe, conference after conference was called. Each foundered in the rock of national sovereignty. It took forty years for governments to learn the lesson that they must give up some of their jealously guarded rights and privileges if they were to protect their peoples against an enemy which ignored man-made frontiers. Not until 1892, did the Venice Conference produce the first effective international sanitary convention. It was the first step which led, via the Health Organization of the League of Nations, to the inclusion of the concept of 'health' in the Charter of the United Nations. The Constitution of the World Health Organization was adopted at the International Health Conference convened by the UN in New York during the summer of 1946. Nearly two years passed before the twenty-six ratifications necessary to bring WHO officially into existence had been registered. But the interval was not wasted. An

Interim Committee was given power to proceed with preparatory work and to take any emergency action which might be required. One big test of efficiency for the provisional organization came in 1947 when a serious epidemic of cholera in Egypt spread alarm throughout Europe. In a matter of weeks prompt emergency action initiated by WHO in association with the Egyptian authorities not only stamped out the epidemic but confined it to Egypt. The five previous epidemics had used Egypt as a stepping-stone.

WHO in 1981 launched its campaign of Health for All by the Year 2000. Although there has been great progress in improving global health, there is a long way still to go. A new-born child in some African countries has only a 50:50 chance of surviving to adolescence; 80 per cent of the world's population living in slums and rural areas have no access to any permanent form of health care, and only about 33 per cent of people in developing countries have reasonable access to safe water and adequate sanitation. In some countries as much as 80 per cent of the health budget goes on the 20 per cent health care provided in towns and cities. But the health crisis is not based only in developing countries. In the US, for example, 49 million people live in areas officially designated as medically underserved, 30 million people do not have a regular source of medical care, and over 20 million people have no health insurance. WHO is aiming for the following goals by 2000 AD: that everyone in every country will have at least ready access to essential health care and to first-level referral facilities, that everyone will be actively involved in caring for themselves and their families as far as they can and in community action for health, that communities throughout the world will share with governments responsibility for the health care of their members, that safe drinking water and sanitation will be available to all people, that all people will be adequately nourished, that all children will be immunized against the major infectious diseases of childhood, that communicable diseases in the developing countries will be of no greater public health significance in the year 2000 than they were in the developed countries in the year 1980, that all possible ways will be applied to prevent and control diseases such as cancer and heart diseases through influencing life-style and controlling the environment, and that essential drugs will be available to all. The most amazing and encouraging feature of this list of goals is that it has been compiled at all. Only a century ago, if

that, there was a sense of inevitability as diseases swept though nation after nation. Here is an international body setting out to destroy that feeling of helplessness. WHO has a good record for getting results. Smallpox, for example, has been completely eliminated from the face of the earth by international co-operation; the last known case was detected in October 1977 and WHO proclaimed the earth free from smallpox in May 1980.

The UN's Achievements

From this book's perspective, the UN has several advantages or achievements to its credit.

First, the UN has proved itself to be a very flexible organization. The world of the 1980s is very different from that in which the UN Charter was drafted. Indeed, much of the present world is of the UN's making. The UN has managed to keep up with the times. UN member-nations have risen from 51 in 1945 to 155. The European empires have gone and the former colonies are now UN member-nations. The UN is engaged in some matters which were hardly considered in 1945, such as the application of space technology, alternative energy sources and the exploitation of the sea-bed.

Second, the UN, by its statements and programmes, has popularized the term 'interdependence'. Indeed, in some western countries, this is now becoming as major an article of faith for this quarter of the 20th century as 'containment of communism' was for the previous quarter. Like other politically-charged words or phrases (for instance, 'detente'), the word is open to varying, if not differing, interpretations. But there is a growing recognition that we all live in one world.

The American Friends Service Committee (in the New York Metropolitan Region's *Action Letter*) provided this proof of how 'interdependence' affects the United States:

> Interdependence is an accomplished fact — one we have yet to admit to ourselves. Consider the following:
>
> — Manganese is essential for the production of steel, yet the US has no high-grade manganese deposits. The USSR and South

Africa hold 87% of the world's manganese reserves.

— The US now imports over half its cobalt requirements from Zaire, a country with a regime widely acknowledged to be corrupt and one whose longevity must be questioned.

— The US relies on the developing world for 30% of its raw materials. In 20 years our domestic sources will supply only 20%.

— An estimated 1.2 million US jobs depend on exports to developing nations. Developing countries buy more US exports than do the EEC, Eastern Europe, the USSR, and China combined.

— The rate of return on our investments in developing nations is running 66% higher than the return on our investments in developed nations.

— By 1985 the world is estimated to need 44% more food than in 1970. By then the grain deficit in the industrialized world will likely double. At the same time the world has no food reserve system.

— Our entire industrial economy as developed over the past 35 years has been based on the ready availability of petroleum. Ten percent of the world's potential oil-producing areas lie in the US, and we've already consumed the oil in one-half of these.

— The world uses 30,000 gallons of petroleum every second, 10,000 of which are consumed in the US.

— With a world population of six billion people assured in a mere twenty years (a 50% increase over today's level), and with ever-increasing demand on resources from rich and poor, it is difficult to envision the tranquil survival of today's islands of influence.

Third, the UN has been of particular benefit to those nations which in earlier centuries would have had a particularly difficult struggle for survival as independent nations: the Third World. This group consists of about 80 per cent of the world's population.

The Third World, by its majority in the General Assembly and several other UN bodies, has been able to change international priorities. The protection of human rights has been a concern of some developed countries for decades but their approach was selective. On South Africa, for example, Britain did little to discourage the gradual descent into racism, which eventually became despised internationally as *apartheid*. India, one of the first Third World Nations in the UN, raised this matter for UN action in the late 1940s. Little was achieved at that time but India was joined later by other Third World nations. The UN has since made the eradication of racism one of its major human rights campaigns. Developed nations now accept the importance of ending racism. Similarly, Third World nations, noting the lack of UN machinery for their particular problems relating to international trade, encouraged the UN to create the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). International trade has increased considerably since the early 1950s and yet the proportion of Third World trade has actually declined. About 80 per cent of Third World export revenues come from primary commodities and Third World nations have tried to find ways of stabilizing commodity prices to prevent their fluctuations from one year to the next. It is difficult to plan a national budget when the government cannot know what revenues it will get. UNCTAD has also tried to establish better terms of trade for Third World nations, especially relating to tariff barriers, in developed countries. Development is a universal phenomenon. It is in the interests of all nations (not just Third World ones) that there be a general increase in the level of international trade.

Fourth, the UN has facilitated the development of what this author has called the 'Fifth World': non-governmental organizations. It is customary (although rather misleading) to describe the globe as being divided politically into First, Second, Third Worlds (referring to the western developed countries, communist countries and the vast majority of countries which try to avoid becoming entangled in the conflicts and squabbles of the other two Worlds). The London-based human rights organization, Minority Rights Group, has popularized the term 'Fourth World'. This consists of minority populations, especially those whose rights are being violated, such as the Catholics in Northern Ireland, blacks in the United States and Aborigines in Australia. There is also now a

'Fifth World'. There is a growing number of people who have loyalties and interests which transcend political boundaries. They want to help people; people they may never meet. These people are often at their most effective in non-governmental organizations (NGOs). NGOs are organizations separate from the branches of governments, notably separate from the public service, armed forces and nationalized industries. Many do, however, receive governmental assistance — if only because (especially in local and national affairs) they provide services which the public service cannot perform (imagine what the marriage guidance or the Life Line telephone counselling service would be life if public servants ran it according to their rigid bureaucratic procedures, such as the need to complete forms, often in duplicate). NGOs retain their independence from governments, including the right to criticize them when they go wrong. Development groups, like Community Aid Abroad and Oxfam, are NGOs which encourage developed countries to assist developing countries. Churches are among the oldest of NGOs. Human rights organizations, like Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurist, are among the newest. So is the anti-uranium movement — the most recent addition to the Fifth World.

The mushroom growth of 'the Fifth World' may be explained in four ways. First, improvements in communications technology are creating a new international spirit of oneness among humans, and between humans and the natural environment. Traditional divisions between nations and peoples (whether as a result of religion, geographical boundaries or ideologies) no longer seem so significant. On the contrary, traditional divisions are held responsible for most of today's problems, such as the arms race. The 'Fifth World' is concerned more about the common features which unite peoples (such as respect for life and a healthy environment), than about the old rigid divisions. After all, humans do have much in common. Thanks to modern communications, there is increasing recognition of this fact.

Second, international crises are changing their nature. Even as recently as the early 1960s, crises were often of the 'cold war' type (for example, over Cuba in 1961 and 1962). But the 1970s saw a new international agenda of political action, in which the main crises have been outside the mainstream of old 'cold war' disputes, such as the

pollution of the environment, depletion of the earth's non-renewable resources, inflation, unemployment, starvation and housing. 'Cold war' considerations have, of course, contributed to the crises — magnified by wasteful expenditure of US$1,000,000,000 per day on weapons. Arms race expenditure increases inflation, depletes the earth's non-renewable resources (the US Air Force, for example, is the world's major consumer of oil) and generates suspicion among nations mutually arming against one another. The reconciliation of individual interests requires long-term international co-operation — and this, in turn, requires international peace and security. But instead of seeing the world's first problem as dissipating the 'cold war', we now know (thanks to extended detente) that the real problem is far deeper and involves our whole basic life style.

Third, governments are shrinking in importance. This may seem a strange statement when so many people are worried about governmental use and abuse of power. But national governments are being submerged by new power groupings. International lawyers often use 1648 as a convenient starting point for the beginning of the nation-state in modern history. The phenomenon of nation-states has had a good run. But now it is ending.

The creation of the UN in 1945 signalled the beginning of the end of national governments. The UN (although it has not progressed as far or as fast as some hoped for at the time) has absorbed many governmental responsibilities, a development which is examined in more detail later on.

Meanwhile, of course, at grass roots the Fifth World is gaining influence simply because its members are losing faith in the ability of politicians to do anything in office except line their own pockets. As has been said: 'Whoever you vote for in an election, a politician always wins'. Whether or not this sorry picture of politicians is justified, it is true nonetheless that politicians have a low standing in the community. With governments unable to supply the answers, the people are trying to provide them through the non-governmental organizations. For example, Australians concerned about the political prisoners in other countries (especially in those countries with which the Australian Government wants to remain on good terms) prefer to work through Amnesty International for their release, rather than through the government, which they know has

less influence in this matter than Amnesty International.

Fourth, people in developed countries are keenly aware of international crises and dubious of the traditional methods of settling them. They are tired of watching their governments respond to crises, instead of looking ahead at looming problems and acting positively to forestall them. For example, the oil price increases started in October 1973 (oil is about 800 per cent more expensive now than it was in September 1973), foreshadowing the need for governments to develop alternative energy sources and to reduce overall consumption. But governments have hardly, even now, begun to do this. Australia, which could be a leader in solar energy for example, has a long way to go before solar energy is available commercially in large quantities.

People are exasperated by the unimaginative and conservative policies of their governments, governments too concerned to follow what has worked in the past — rather than to develop policies for the future. Unimaginative conservatism is a by-product of entrusting too much power to the public service (which is more influential in policy-making and execution than parliament). Promotion in the public service depends upon people being unimaginative, secretive and slow. These are certainly not the qualities required for solving today's problems. There is a tendency to deal with the 'short-term', while ignoring the 'long-term' — thereby overlooking the fact that many of today's problems were yesterday's 'long-term' problems (which were ignored so that the 'short-term' problems could be resolved). The result is often that the 'short-term' problems were not resolved at all and we now have the 'long-term' ones as well. Governments have us on a permanent tread-mill.

NGOs were in evidence at the birth of the United Nations. The UN Charter, thanks partly to their lobbying, contains a specific reference to ECOSOC being permitted to consult with some NGOs. Over the years, NGOs have made good use of that provision and almost all UN bodies (other than the six main organs) now consist of some NGO participation. Indeed, even the main organs are now becoming more accessible to NGO involvement. During the UN General Assembly Special Session on Disarmament, in 1978, two days were made available for NGOs to present their views to governments.

NGOs are particularly important to the UN for their role in injecting information (as Amnesty International does, for example, on human rights violations) and new ideas, as Canon Joseph Moerman of the International Catholic Child Bureau did when he proposed that the UN proclaim an International Year of the Child (which took place in 1979).

Finally, the UN has survived, despite a variety of criticisms of it. It has incurred a great deal of anger from governments and newspapers unsympathetic to its work. In 1947 (soon after the UN started business) a British newspaper told its readers: "Every honest and realistic person knows in his heart that the UN is dead". For several years the newspaper predicted the UN's imminent death. It now complains that the UN is too active and trying to do too much, Owing to recent UN criticisms of Israel, some western governments and mass media have accused the UN of being too 'political' — thereby ignoring that for the period up to 1971 western governments were able to use their voting power to keep China out of the UN (its 800 million were said to be represented by Taiwan). If there is too much politicking in the UN, it is because some western governments started politicking within it.

Evaluating The United Nations

The UN's most obvious limitation is its foundation in the system of nation-states. The UN Charter begins in a stirring way: 'We the Peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small . . .' But throughout the rest of the Charter the emphasis is placed squarely on nations. For example, only nations may become members of the UN, only nations may take a case to the International Court of Justice, only nations may be members of junior UN bodies (Amnesty International, for instance, could never become a member of the Commission on Human Rights). Like the League, the UN was not designed to be a revolutionary organization. On the contrary, the UN (and the League before it) was born into an international political arena dominated by nations and it has accepted that system. It does not replace the old methods. It merely supplements them. It

has kept alive and active a pattern of nations conducting their own affairs in their own time in their own ways. If a nation does not like a UN decision, it will ignore it. Even UN Security Council resolutions — which, according to the UN Charter, are binding on all UN member-nations — are ignored by nations if they see fit and they often get away with their defiance.

Moreover, UN actions, like those of the League, are gravely hindered by national sensitivities. It cannot enter territory without the consent of the government concerned, even when it wants to carry out urgent relief operations. When it is in national territory, it has to operate constantly in such a way as not to appear as a rival authority. It must abstain from actions which could influence the domestic political situation.

One of the greatest paradoxes of contemporary international affairs is that most governments realize that there has to be a greater international co-operation and yet there is great reluctance on the part of almost all governments, irrespective of political outlooks, to make full use of the UN or to facilitate its development.

Second, despite the League's problems, the UN is very similar in structure to the League. The core is similar: the League Council has been replaced by the UN Security Council, the Assembly by the UN General Assembly, and the mandates system by the UN Trusteeship Council. Although the International Court of Justice is more integrated into the UN structure than was the Permanent Court of International Justice, both organizations have depended upon a secretariat and both secretariats were highly influenced in their formative stages by the British civil service. Only the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) is an innovation among the main organs, thereby reflecting the UN's emphasis on these issues.

Third, the League and UN have had demarcation and division of responsibility problems. The League, being much smaller, found its demarcation problem between the Council and Assembly, where the Covenant failed to identify precisely the functions of both organs. The authors of the UN Charter learned from that omission and the Security Council and General Assembly do not have the same difficulty. However, there are problems lower down. The UN convenes about 6,000 meetings a year. Except for some western

public holidays, there is a UN meeting going on somewhere on some topic at any hour of the day. Co-ordination — or lack of it — is one of the UN's main disasters. Most specialized agencies are autonomous bodies created by nations and have their own charters (some written before the UN Charter) and governing bodies. They tend to go their own way, responding to the directives of their governing bodies. ECOSOC should be co-ordinating all this work but it is overwhelmed by all the tasks to be carried out.

This problem of co-ordination is not unique, of course, to the UN. One has no need to go beyond Australia to see the problems of trying to co-ordinate governmental activities. Indeed, the UN's difficulties are aggravated by the lack of co-ordination among national delegations sent to the UN bodies.

In the League's day, many national delegations to the Assembly were headed by foreign ministers, who journeyed to Geneva. This added prestige to gatherings and facilitated top-level diplomacy. Nowadays, foreign ministers put in a fleeting appearance at the annual General Assembly. The daily work is conducted by public servants. The General Assembly agenda is now so long and complex — a reflection of the UN's increasing involvement in human affairs — that public servants could find themselves, say, discussing the law of the sea one day, drug trafficking the next, and disarmament the next. All this work has to be conducted amid budget cuts and staff shortages, so that there is always too much work for too few people. No one official can ever hope to be a specialist in all these areas. Indeed, there are frequent changes in delegations and so there is a lack of continuity. The public servants may be doing their best (although some are there mainly for the diplomatic cocktail circuit) but the system militates against their work. Moreover their overriding concern is not so much to act for the best of the world, but for the best of their nation. They think only in the short-term and in the perceived immediate national interest.

The UN has had considerable financial problems. The total amount of UN expenditure is difficult to assess because of the decentralized accounting procedures followed by the specialized agencies, but the UN direct secretariat budget is less than that of the New York Fire Brigade. It is the equivalent of a few hours expenditure on the arms race. A survey done in 1970 showed that the

total UN expenditures divided by the total world population came to 23¢. There are four main reasons for the UN's financial problems. First, there is a tendency by governments to delay making their payments (which are not onerous) as a way of showing disapproval of a UN action. This is a childish way of conducting diplomacy but common enough. Second, the UN has mounted peacekeeping operations which are funded separately and to which some governments have been slow to make their contributions. Third, some governments are just plain slow in making their payments — a reflection of their inefficiency. Finally, some governments make payments in their own currencies which are not convertible to other currencies and so can only be spent in their own countries. All of these are specific examples of governmental reluctance to make the UN a full success. If governments really cared about the UN being a success, the UN would have far fewer financial difficulties.

The UN suffers, like all forms of modern government, from glibness and superficiality. This may be a reflection of modern life, whereby a great deal has to be handled in a short time, thereby encouraging speed of consideration, rather than skilful consideration, of a problem. 'Interdependence', the trendy political catchcry mentioned above, is often used but rarely understood. There is a tendency to regard it as meaning merely that all that is required are a few marginal adjustments by governments (such as an increase in foreign aid, outlawing — or legalizing — abortion, and stopping inflation) to solve the world's problems. Interdependence in this context is merely the recognition that nations have similar problems but reserve the right to handle them separately and with as few changes as possible. Another context in which 'interdependece' is used is that of urging the UN — in effect, governments — to establish yet another UN body or conference to deal with yet another crisis. In other words, it is used to signify the creation of clearing houses for international action, while leaving the daily implementation of decisions by these clearing houses to national governments. Indeed, it is questionable how far this new-found interest in 'interdependence' actually stems from conservative political forces, wishing to continue their affairs under the guise of appearing modern. Another example concerns the definition of a "sound economy'. At long last, some governments have doubts about the virtues of economic growth at almost any social cost, although all

still seem to regard economic growth as the fundamental solution to their problems. But western nations are in the ironical situation of facing both high inflation and economic stagnation. There is overproduction of some goods necessarily increasing export difficulties.

The UN remains an arena for US-Soviet tensions. Other nations are reluctant to transfer their political disputes to the Security Council for fear the disputes will become entangled in the wider US-Soviet dispute. On paper, the UN Security Council is an important breakthrough in the maintenance of international peace and security. Although derived to some extent from the League Council, its potential is far greater than the League Council's was. The Security Council's 15 member-nations are about as representative of the whole world as could be devised in a body of this small size. Its powers, on paper, are remarkable: together with a wide range of duties to investigate and settle disputes, the Council can stop a war, start a war, wage a war and implement various sanctions. On paper it is backed by a military staff and has access to all the UN member-nations' armed forces. On paper, its power is virtually unlimited. In fact, the Security Council has also been served by some remarkable international servants. Among its member-nations, there have been some outstanding delegates. With all these assets and advantages, what has gone wrong? With the possible exception of the International Court of Justice, the Security Council has been the main organ of the UN which has failed to live up to its high expectations. The five permanent members, especially the US and the Soviet Union, have undermined it. In few crises at all since 1945 has the Security Council ever realised its true potential. None of its extensive military arrangements has ever been fully used. Most UN peacekeeping operations have had to be conducted outside the strict provisions of the UN Charter. The Soviet Union and France have failed to live up to their financial obligations, especially on peacekeeping (although the situation has improved). The United States blocked any Security Council involvement in Indo-China. Britain, whose dismantling of its empire has kept the UN busy, always refused to hand over to the Security Council its problems until it had made such a mess of them that it handed them over to the UN because it had run out of ideas. The US, Britain and France excluded mainland China from the UN between 1949 and 1971 and

for 22 years the Chinese people were 'represented' by Taiwan. Since 1971, when the real China was back in the UN, it has not played a constructive role at the Security Council and has been mainly concerned with furthering its criticisms of the Soviet Union. The impression conveyed is that the five permanent members have used their unique status mainly to further their own national interests, rather than to work for the international interest.

The UN has been responsible for several major achievements. But when weighed against all the problems, there is much yet to do. The massive redistribution of wealth in the interests of international justice has hardly begun. About 90 per cent of the world's gross production is consumed by about 30 UN member-nations. The remaining 10 per cent has to be shared among 120 nations, containing about half of the world's population. Even all the public's concern in western nations to increase foreign aid by minute amounts (which most western governments are failing to do anyway) overlooks the fact that the developing countries as a whole are already covering — out of their own meagre resources — 80 per cent of the total investments being made in them. There is also the arms race, which the UN has been unable to halt. Dr. Kurt Waldheim, the UN Secretary-General, in his 1977 Report on the UN's work, noted:

> For several years annual world military expenditure has been about $300 billion. By contrast the World Health Organization has spent about $83 million over 10 years to eradicate smallpox in the world — a sum insufficient to buy one modern supersonic bomber. That organization's programme for eradicating malaria at an estimated $450 million — half of what is spent daily for military purposes — is dragging for lack of funds. In a world where scientific and technological capability is one of the keys to the future, 25 per cent of the world's scientific manpower and 40 per cent of all research and development spending is engaged for military purposes.

The developing countries are sinking deeper into international debt (US $244,000 million at the end of 1977) and they are receiving loans to repay old debts. They could simply refuse to repay the debts. The international banking situation is more fragile than it has been for 50 years and so a minor default by a developing country could set

off a chain reaction like the collapse of a house made of playing cards. (Incidentally, the Soviet Union and other communist countries owe the West US $50,000 million). It is not clear how the debts will be repaid in full. It can presumably best be done via the supply of raw materials (where they exist in debtor countries), because it will be difficult to acquire the necessary hard exchange currency, and almost impossible to supply cheap manufactured goods because they would increase unemployment in the industries (for example in textiles) in the lending countries. Also, the foreign investment (with some exceptions like Brazil and India) is not being spent on infrastructures but to accelerate consumption. There is not, for example, any major railway building project now underway in any developing country. In short, foreign investment is made on the basis of short-term loans for short-sighted projects. It is difficult to see how the money will be repaid, let alone how 350 million jobs will be created in the 1980s to meet the expanding labour market. (The ages of the people looking for jobs approximately coincides with the average age of guerrillas: 22; violence may be their reply to lack of peaceful occupations).

Finally, there are the transnational corporations (TNCs). These are the world's major economic factors. There are 400 TNCs, with sales of over US $1,000 million: half are owned in the US, all the rest are in Europe and Japan. They control half the western world's non-agricultural trade. Abut 50 per cent of all world trade is business conducted between branches of the same corporation. Therefore they have a unique power; they can operate outside the usual capitalist market framework of demand and supply. All western countries are having difficulty stabilizing interest rates. The major cause is the TNCs flair for international currency speculation: the international liquid assets of US TNCs alone are double the total reserves held by all the central banks and international financial institutions. They can shift their purchasing power from London, Paris, New York, Bonn or Rome in seconds and benefit from the fluctuating interest rates and currency (pound, dollar, etc.) rates. Indeed, their power is so strong that they can help create the necessary speculative fluctuations. Even more significant is their political power. Individually, some TNCs overshadow most of the world's governments; collectively they dominate them all. Governments — although they will not admit this publicly — are no

longer masters of their countries' economic destiny. To varying extents all the western world's governments are still guided by Lord Keynes's economic thinking of government intervention to help the economic process, such as to reduce unemployment. But that thinking is based on the assumption that a government can control its national economy. To all increasing extent, however, no government wields the power it once had: all are subject to TNC influence.

To recapitulate on the earth's different 'worlds', the first three 'worlds' are developed western countries (including Australia), developed communist countries, and the developing countries which prefer to be non-aligned in their foreign policies. The 'fourth world', according to the London-based human rights organization Minority Rights Group, consists of the world's minorities, such as the Australian Aborigines. The 'fifth world', this author has argued, consists of international non-governmental organizations, especially those directly involved in political and social change (such as Amnesty International and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament). The 'sixth world' is perhaps a label that could be applied to transnational corporations.

The biggest question is: what future does the UN have? There is now no risk that the UN will disappear. It is too meshed into international diplomatic arrangements for it to fade away. If the UN did not exist, it would be necessary to create it.

'Functionalism' is a word often used in the UN context. Indeed the idea of functionalism existed decades before the UN was created. Functionalism, in the UN context, means nations coming together to co-operate on one specific function, such as the international postal system or the need to stop diseases spreading from one country to another. Such co-operation not only brings about the desired ends (such as being able to send mail overseas) but should also get nations used to the general idea of co-operating with one another, thereby breaking old traditions of animosity and proving the advantages of international co-operation. The UN, especially through its specialized agencies and other economic and social programmes (all of which involve about 90 per cent of the UN's total budget and personnel) are the foundations of the UN's functionalism. The Club of Rome Report *Reshaping the International Order* (Hutchinson,

London, 1977) is a good example of this thinking. The RIO planners envision all this 'as a functional confederation of international organizations, based upon existing, restructured and, in some instances, new UN agencies — to be linked through an integrative machinery. This system . . . should ultimately aim at the pooling and sharing of all resources, material and non-material, including means of production, with a view to ensuring effective planning and management of the world economy and of global resources used in a way which would meet the essential objectives of equity and efficiency'. Naturally, this would call for 'the conscious transfer of power . . . from the nation-state to the world organization'. In other words, the UN could grow gradually into some form of world government by its being given specific functions by governments which see that the UN is more capable of handling the functions than they are. The growth of the World Health Organization, for example, has shown that governments recognize that their health functions should be co-ordinated by WHO. The specialized agencies, rather than the UN's two political bodies (Security Council and General Assembly) may be seen as the avenue through which governments travel to world government.

This approach has several advantages. It is gradual, it provides help for governments at points where they feel most vulnerable, and it allows them to focus their attention on the more overtly political issues of the day. However, given the nature of international crises, it is too gradual. Functionalism will enable the UN to go only as fast as its slowest governments. And we may not have that much time. In the meantime it is important that functionalism be supported. It does have some advantages. But we should also look at other ways in which the UN can be strengthened.

United Nations Associations

Before looking at the suggestions being advanced by non-governmental organizations for improving the UN, the work of United Nations Associations should be noted. Not only do UNAs around the world play an important role in public education, but they have set an example for all of the other non-governmental organizations which will be described in this book.

Although the US President Woodrow Wilson was seen as the chief

architect of the League of Nations, the force behind the idea came from many nations, not the least the UK. By 1917, two British organizations were already campaigning for some form of international organization to prevent further wars: the League of Nations Society and the League of Free Nations Association. Eventually, both organizations came together to form the League of Nations Union. An active branch of the LNU was later formed in Australia. The LNU was important for three reasons. Although this seems amazing to us nowadays, before 1914 there was little interest in foreign policy among the majority of UK citizens. They became anxious about specific issues, like the Boer War, but there was not sustained monitoring or evaluation of British foreign policy. It was assumed that the government of the day had the right ideas and should be left to act appropriately. World War I shattered that complacency. After the war, both the LNU and Royal Institute of International Affairs were formed to analyse foreign policy; one being a political body, while the latter was mainly a scholarly one barred from making political recommendations. Second, the LNU managed to involve many of the leading figures of the inter-war period and its executive committee at various times contained former or soon-to-be prime ministers and foreign ministers. Third, the LNU was very successful at mobilizing public opinion. At one point, in the Peace Ballot, no fewer than 11 million people affirmed their belief in peace and international disarmament through the League of Nations. The LNU model was followed in several countries.

After World War II, the LNUs became UNAs. UNAs exist in many countries around the world. They have set a model for other non-governmental organizations. UNAs are not an official part of the UN's structure. But, like many other non-governmental organizations, they enjoy — through the World Federation of United Nations Associations in Geneva — a consultative status with the UN. UNAs vary somewhat from one nation to the next. But in general terms, they have three main tasks: they encourage their governments to follow UN decisions, they educate their fellow citizens about the UN's work (and so try to counteract the negative reporting of the UN by the mass media) and they raise money for UN programmes. They provide an opportunity for the average person to learn more about international affairs, how to influence that person's government, they provide an avenue for suggestions to reach the

UN other than by national governments, and they are a way of working for a better world. In terms of progress towards the new world order, the efforts of UNAs are very important.

Amending The UN Charter

Right from the outset, the UN Charter attracted criticism. Some of the criticism came from extremists who disapproved of all forms of international co-operation as being 'Jewish', 'Communist' or 'Capitalist' conspiracies. Indeed, the US political lunatic fringe has, among its standard texts, the best-selling *None Dare Call It Conspiracy* by Gary Allen, in which the inventive Mr Allen argues that the US's problems stem from collaboration between such diverse organizations as US Big Business (especially the Rockefeller Family), the Soviet Union and UN influences. This type of eccentric criticism is not examined here.

The next chapter looks at the main suggestions which have been made for reforming the UN or replacing it with organizations which may be better for transnational co-operation.

The UN Charter itself contains provisions for its own amendment. According to Article 108, charter amendments require both a two-thirds UN General Assembly vote and ratification in accordance with the constitutional processes by two-thirds of UN member-nations — including all the five permanent members of the UN Security Council.

According to Article 109, a general conference of UN member-nations for the purpose of reviewing the Charter may be held at a date and place to be fixed by a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly and by a vote of any nine Security Council members. Each UN member-nation shall have one vote in the conference. Any outcome from such a conference would need to meet the voting standards laid down in Article 108.

Article 108 also states that if such a conference had not been held by, in effect 1955, the proposal to call such a conference should be placed on the General Assembly agenda. The conference should be held if so decided by a majority of the General Assembly and by a vote of any seven Security Council members.

The UN Charter does, therefore, provide in principle for its own amendment — but on paper alone it appears as a daunting prospect.

Since no general conference had been convened by 1955, the subject did appear on the General Assembly's 1955 agenda. No action was taken. It was also on the agenda for the 25th session in 1970, but again there was little interest in it. The prevailing view seemed to be that as there was already great difficulty in obtaining agreement for minor amendments, there was little point in trying for major changes.

The few UN Charter amendments which have been adopted reflect the UN's growth in membership. In 1945 few people expected the UN's membership to grow as rapidly as it did, especially during the late 1950s and 1960s, as colonies were rushing into independence at a great rate. The amendments increased the number of the non-permanent Security Council members (that is, the nations which have to get elected) from six to ten, and increased the membership of the Economic and Social Council from 18 to 27 (1965) and then from 27 to 54 (1973).

There are, in essence, three approaches to UN Charter review. The *first* is to keep the Charter intact but change the interpretation of particular provisions. This has been the UN's main policy. For example, Article 2(7) prohibits the UN from intervening 'in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State' (except for Security Council action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression). At first sight this could be a grave, if not a fatal, bar to highly desirable action, such as the UN's international protection of human rights. But the General Assembly has progressively eroded the authority of that provision so that its human rights work has been a UN success story. Indeed, the UN Charter is suited for such reinterpretations. The authors made allowances for the UN's growth. On Article 2(7), for example, the Charter refers to matters which are 'essentially' of a domestic nature. 'Essentially' is not an absolute term (the League Covenant, by contrast, was much blunter in this regard). The Charter's authors knew that if the organization did gather momentum, it would need room for growth. It was noted earlier that one of the UN's achievements has been its capacity for evolution derived from taking on extra tasks.

A current example of this approach is the Report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues, chaired by Willy Brandt (an international best-seller under the title *North-South: A Programme for Survival).* Among some of its many recommendations: The Commission urges vastly increased aid and credit to finance industrial and agricultural development and stave off mass starvation in the neediest countries. Its goal: $50 billion to $60 billion in annual development funds by 1985 (compared to about $20 billion today). Besides price-stabilizing agreements with oil producers, the Commission calls for ambitious international energy-conservation targets and increased investment in alternative energy sources. The report calls for $8 billion a year in new food aid to the Third World to increase local food production and ensure regular supplies to the hungriest regions.

The world's present economic system is no longer adequate, the Commission believes. Its most urgent priorities include reform of the international monetary system to diminish the role of the dollar and give the Third World a greater voice and improved terms of trade for Third World goods. The Report saw the UN as a major focal point in the massive transfer of resources from developed nations to Third World nations. The UN as an organization would have an enhanced role — but without having its Charter amended. Initial western reactions were not favourable. The Report was overshadowed by increased tensions between the West and the Soviet Union because of the Afghanistan invasion. Britain's Prime Minister was hostile towards it, partly perhaps because she viewed the UN as global equivalence of the welfare state, undermining the principles of self-help and private enterprise. The omens for the Report are not good.

The *second* approach is that of piecemeal amendments. As noted, this approach has had limited success only.

The *final* approach is that of a complete overhaul. Only a few nations have at any time espoused such an approach and, given the Charter's built-in inertia against amendments, all such governmental initiatives have had a short life. However, there are some indications that the third approach is finding a little more favour with some governments. A major argument against this approach has been that it could result in the governments having less than they started with. The Third UN Law of the Sea Conference may have helped

undermine that argument. Unlike the First Conference in 1958, the Third one deliberately did not have a polished draft from which to work, thereby providing all nations — in the world's largest ever diplomatic gathering — a good opportunity to participate in a full review of the law of the sea. The Third Conference's roots go back to 1967. Its first session was in 1973; its main opening session in 1974. During the late 1970s there were dark predictions that the conference would dissolve in confusion without a treaty. But the treaty is almost completed. It will not enter into force for some years but at least it has proved to sceptics that the radical approach can work.

The Special Committee on the Charter and on strengthening the UN's role was set up in 1975 by the General Assembly. It succeeded the Ad Hoc Committee on the UN Charter, which had been established in 1974 with the task of considering proposals from governments and other sources for 'enhancing the ability of the UN to achieve its purposes'. At its 1976 meeting, the Special Committee considered a report, compiled by the Secretariat, on governmental views on various aspects of the functioning of the UN. The Special Committee got off to a poor start, with four of the five permanent members of the Security Council clearly opposed to its even being created (China was in favour of the Committee's being established). The Special Committee has not recovered from its troubled birth (even China is backing off from its positive attitude).

Among the sensitive areas on which agreement is virtually impossible to reach are: the Security Council's role, especially that of the permanent members, in the maintenance of international peace and security, the General Assembly's powers, the force of General Assembly resolutions, and the role of the International Court of Justice in the settlement of disputes.

The Campaign For UN Reform

The Campaign for UN Reform, the political arm of the United States World Federalist Movement (examined in the next chapter) has been very active in getting the US to take a positive role in the Special Committee. By lobbying in the US Congress, it helped obtain a resolution stating that the US should 'make a major effort towards reforming and restructuring the UN system'. President

Jimmy Carter responded on March 2, 1978 with a Report on the Reform and Restructuring of the UN system. The National Chairman of the Campaign for UN Reform, Walter Hoffman, said:

> We in the Campaign for UN Reform believe that President Carter's Report is a significant forward step and will give encouragement to those member governments at the United Nations who have been trying to correct some of the deficiencies in the UN system. While we are particularly pleased with the President's recommendations on strengthening the UN's peacekeeping capability and on encouraging the use of the International Court of Justice, we fervently hope that each of the recommendations in the Report will be discussed and debated widely by private citizens and organizations alike, and not merely by governments.

Among the President's points, listed under Report headings were:

Introduction

** that a central concern of US foreign policy must be built a stronger and more effective UN system

** That the US should be prepared to participate in a Charter Review Conference if a substantial majority of member states believes the outcome likely to be productive.

Dispute Settlement Machinery

** He requested the Secretary of State to conduct a thorough examination of existing mechanisms for peaceful settlement of disputes with a view toward promoting their greater use.

** The US will contine to treat the establishment of fact-finding missions as a procedural matter not subject to veto.

** He favours annual meetings of foreign ministers to review the state of world peace in the light of reports prepared by the Secretary General.

International Court of Justice

** He would permit private parties indirect access to the International Court of Justice by giving national appelate courts recourse to the ICJ for advisory 'preliminary opinions' on issues of international law.

** He would at an appropriate time, request the Senate to re-examine the Connally Reservation in order to demonstrate *new* US adherence to compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice.

Peacekeeping Capability

** He believed that further efforts should be made to create a UN Peacekeeping Reserve composed of national contingents trained in peacekeeping functions.

** He was prepared to assist the Secretary General with the airlift of troops and equipment for the peacekeeping force authorized by the Security Council.

** He would explore the possibility of establishing a Special Peacekeeping Fund in the order of one hundred million dollars US.

Decision-making Process

** He believed there is no prospect for the adoption of weighted voting in the General Assembly.

** He believed that curtailment of the veto would not be in US interests.

** He was prepared to offer very small new states some form of associate status short of full membership.

** He was prepared to give substantially greater weight in US national policy to General Assembly decisions arrived at by consensus.

Human Rights

** He would press for the establishment of a UN High Commissioner for Human Rights.

UN Finances

** He favoured, as a long term goal, the development of autonomous sources of income for the international community.

UN Economic System

** He would seek improved central management and leadership in the UN Secretariat.

** He would sustain the UN Development Programme as the major management and leadership in the UN Secretariat.

** He would sustain the UNDP as the major channel for US voluntary contributions for technical assistance programs.

It remains to be seen how the new US government, under President Ronald Reagan responds to this campaign, especially as some of the campaign's congressional allies failed to be re-elected in the 1980 congressional elections. The Campaign for UN Reform itself has a fourteen-point program for making the UN more effective:

1. *To Improve the Dispute Settlement Process*

NEED: Article 33 of the Charter refers to conciliation, mediation and arbitration, but there are no procedures for either a disputing party or the UN itself to invoke mediation or arbitration. As a result, the United Nations has been ineffective in resolving conflicts.

PROPOSAL: Specific machinery for third party involvement in the dispute settlement process should include:

** A highly trained UN Conciliation and Mediation Service to mediate international disputes.

** Panels of arbitrators to make non-binding or binding

arbitration decisions on boundary disputes or other conflicts.

** Procedures for any disputing party to request mediation or non-binding arbitration.

** Procedures for the UN Security Council to request binding arbitration in the event of a threat to international peace and security.

2. *To Increase the use of the International Court of Justice*

NEED: The International Court of Justice, consisting of fifteen judges, sits at the Hague but hears less than two cases a year. Even when it is used, nations invoke self-defeating reservations or simply refuse to abide by its decisions.

PROPOSAL: Provisions should be made to encourage much greater use of the International Court of Justice, including:

** All nations should have the right to request an advisory opinion after giving notice to the other party.

** The Secretary-General or a regional international organization should have the right to request advisory opinions.

** Jurisdiction should be granted to the court over legal disputes referred to it by the Security Council after a finding that the disputes threaten international peace and security.

** Multi-national corporations disputing with nations should have the right to be parties before the court.

3. *To Improve the UN's Peacekeeping Capability*

NEED: Despite the enabling provisions of the Charter, no permanent UN peacekeeping force has been formed. Consequently, when a conflict does erupt, the UN has had to enlist an ad hoc force on an emergency basis. Often this is too late and inadequate to halt major conflicts.

PROPOSAL: A permanent peacekeeping force of sufficient size and mobility to maintain the status quo during the dispute-settlement process should be set up. UN powers should include:

** the ability to use peace observation teams whenever a potential conflict appears.

** a special fund to support peacekeeping operations.

** the elimination of the veto on the use of interpositional forces.

** the authorization of interpositional forces without the necessity of an invitation from the host country.

** eventual direct recruitment and training of the force by the United Nations.

4. *To Improve UN Finances*

NEED: Some nations have failed to pay their peacekeeping assessments. As a result, peacekeeping operations face a continual financial crisis. Other parts of the UN system also lack sufficient funds to assure effective operation.

PROPOSAL: (a) A special peacekeeping revolving fund as part of the regularly assessed UN budget in order to assure a rapid response by the United Nations in the early phase of hostilities.

(b) The creation of a special commission to explore supplemental revenue-raising possibilities, including:

** deep seabed revenue-producing arrangements.

** multi-national corporate licensing fees.

** a one-cent levy on international mail.

** airline and shipping fees.

** satellite and telephonic communication fees.

** ocean and atmospheric pollution penalties.

** a levy on national military expenditure above a specific proportional minimum.

5. *To Modify the Veto*

NEED: The veto has frequently been used by one or more of the major powers to block constructive action. The veto has been applied in situations not contemplated by the UN founders.

PROPOSAL: The veto power should be not applied:

** in the admission of new members; (The question of statehood should be decided by the International Court of Justice).

** in the appointment of fact-finding commissions.

** in authorizing the use of interpositional forces to maintain the status quo during the dispute-settlement process.

** by a permanent member when it is itself a party to a dispute.

(These modifications in the veto power should be made in exchange for modification of the General Assembly voting structure.)

6. *To Provide a more Equitable Voting Structure in the General Assembly*

NEED: With the admission of numerous mini-states, several with populations of less than 100,000, the voting structure of the General Assembly has become inequitable. A country like Seychelles with a population of only 59,000 has the same vote as the United States with over 210 million. Due to this gross inequity, large nations are reluctant to bring issues before the General Assembly for fear of being out-voted.

PROPOSAL: Micro-states should be given an 'associate state' status which would enable them to enjoy the economic benefits of UN membership without the financial burdens or the voting privilege of full membership. In addition, the following should be adopted in exchange for modification of the veto power:

** a financial review committee of major contributors should be

established to review Assembly resolutions with substantial financial implications.

7. *An International Court to provide Justice for Hijackers and Terrorists*

NEED: Some nations have been reluctant to extradite to the victim's state for trial persons accused of hijacking or terrorism for fear of their mistreatment.

PROPOSAL: An International Criminal Court of limited jurisdiction should be created to try persons accused of aerial hijacking or international terrorism. The substantive jurisdiction of such court should be based upon:

** the Hague Convention defining aircraft hijacking.

** the Montreal Convention defining the crime of violence aboard international aircraft.

** the Crimes Against Diplomats convention.

** the proposed conventions against the taking of international hostages.

** the proposed convention on international terrorism.

8. *To Improve the Human Rights Machinery*

NEED: Human Rights matters are now treated separately by a number of UN organs. There is a lack of co-ordination and focus. There is much rhetoric, but little accomplishment.

PROPOSAL: The Trusteeship Council, which has little to do since most trust territories have achieved their independence, should be reconstituted as the 'Human Rights and Trusteeship Council'. All Human Rights functions should be centralized and co-ordinated under it, thereby raising the importance of Human Rights concerns to Council level.

** a UN High Commissioner for Human Rights should be appointed to investigate complaints of violations.

** a Court of Human Rights should be modelled after the European Court of Human Rights, to render decisions in cases of alleged violations.

(All existing Human Rights Conventions should be ratified by governments.)

9. *To Forestall New Conflicts: An International Ocean Authority*

NEED: Oceans comprise seventy per cent of the earth's surface. At present there is no international body with authority over the high seas or the living and mineral resources in the ocean and on the ocean floor. As technical skills to exploit the resources of the deep seabed and of ocean fisheries improve, the motivation for serious international conflict between nations develops apace.

PROPOSAL: An International Ocean Authority should be created as part of the current Law of the Sea negotiations, to manage the resources of the oceans, to protect the ocean environment, to assure freedom of transit, and to adjudicate ocean disputes. An International Ocean Authority would have the duty to:

** protect the oceans from pollution.

** assure free and open transit.

** manage the mining of deep seabed mineral resources.

** protect fishery areas from over-fishing.

** provide a structure for arbitrating disputes between nations on ocean matters.

** provide revenue for international development, for environmental protection, and for the UN itself.

10. *To End the Arms Race: an International Disarmament Organization*

NEED: The global arms race, which costs mounting billions per year must be brought under control. An international body is required to supervise and enforce arms control and disarmament treaties. Without such an organ, nations will continue to suspect each other of

not living up to their agreements.

PROPOSAL: An International Disarmament Organization must be created as part of the UN system. Its duties should include:

** monitoring the arms race.

** proposing and initiating new disarmament treaties.

** verifying that arms limitations agreements are being implemented by all parties.

** monitoring step-by-step phased disarmament agreements.

** adjudicating disputes that arise over the interpretation of arms agreements, particularly as they might apply to new weapons.

11. *To Strengthen the UN Environmental Program*

NEED: The life-support systems of the earth are under assault. The present UN environmental program attempts to monitor the pollution of the oceans and the atmosphere, but it has yet to develop firm guidelines to halt pollution. If regulations are not written and enforced, the atmosphere may be poisoned and the oceans, no longer producing life-sustaining oxygen, die.

PROPOSAL: The UN Environmental Programme should have more funds and more authority. In addition to monitoring the pollution of the oceans and the atmosphere, it should:

** develop firm guidelines to prevent pollution of oceans and atmosphere.

** enforce regulations against repeated international polluters.

** arbitrate disputes over environmental guidelines.

12. *To Make Effective the UN Development Program*

NEED: There has been a considerable increase over the years in UN economic programs and agencies. Today, they are poorly coordinated and lack efficiency.

PROPOSAL: The Campaign endorses the recommendations of the Committee of Twenty-Five Experts appointed by the Secretary General for far-reaching improvements in the UN Economic System. They include:

** consolidation of all UN pre-investment activity under a single UN Development Authority.

** reorganization of the Economic and Social Council for high-level research, policy planning and analysis.

** creation of the post of Director General for Development and International Economic Co-operation to oversee ECOSOC and the new UNDA.

** a unified personnel system.

13. *To Create a Global Resources Monitoring Agency*

NEED: The world has limited resources. With the growth of population and continued industrialization, resources are being depleted at an alarming rate. Energy shortages are already apparent. Thoughtful conservation policies and careful management are required.

PROPOSAL: The Campaign proposes the creation of a Global Resources Agency within the UN system, to monitor scarce resources, to make recommendations and suggest guidelines for international conservation. Such recommendations might include:

** reduction of oil and gasoline supplies used for military purposes.

** development of alternative energy sources through an international co-operative research effort.

** storage of international food reserves.

14. *To Regulate Money*

NEED: Our planet has become economically interdependent. Inflation in one country spreads quickly to others. With a fluctuating international exchange rate, speculators in the money markets

flourish. Imbalances in trade cause national decisions which harm the world economy.

PROPOSAL: The International Monetary Fund should have more authority to establish a unified global monetary system. Steps towards this goal would include:

** a centralized international credit reserve system.

** development of regional monetary networks.

** measures to protect nations against the exportation of inflation or deflation.

** development of a single circulating currency.

This set of proposals is probably the best thought-out and most constructive contemporary set of proposals available. This book's purpose is not to adjudicate on these or other current proposals for some form of world government. It has the more modest aim of preparing the pyschological foundation for a transnational perspective to international problems. However, for non-governmental organizations like the UN Association these are important proposals worth their support. Indeed, it is a pity that UN Associations, which exist in many countries around the globe, are not more active specifically on UN reform.

It is important to attend to particular issues, like racism, disarmament and the environment, but it is also important to devise better machinery to resolve dilemmas and the UN is our primitive model, urgently in need of development. As Sir Winston Churchill, one of the UN's architects, once remarked, the UN was not set up to get us to heaven but to save us from hell.

But some people believe the UN is not enough, even if it were made more powerful. Their ideas will be examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

TOWARDS A NEW WORLD ORDER

Introduction

In one of his most famous statements, the then UN Secretary-General, U Thant, said on May 9, 1969:

> I do not wish to seem over-dramatic, but I can only conclude from the information that is available to me as Secretary-General that the Members of the United Nations have perhaps ten years left in which to subordinate their ancient quarrels and launch a global partnership to curb the arms race, to improve the human environment, to defuse the population explosion, and to supply the required momentum to world development efforts.
>
> If such a global partnership is not forged within the next decade, then I very much fear that the problems I have mentioned will have reached such staggering proportions that they will be beyond our capacity to control.

The world did not end on May 9, 1979. But we live on borrowed time. In the forefront of collective international action the UN still has not achieved the full global partnership U Thant called for in 1969.

This publication is based on the belief that we are not yet at the end of the human story. But we need to organize ourselves. We seem always to be using yesterday's organization today to get us to tomorrow — which will not even be there when we arrive.

The idea of the world-state is not new. Isaiah, a great prophet who lived in Jerusalem in the latter half of the 8th Century BC, wrote about a new world order in which nations will hammer their swords into ploughs and their spears into pruning-hooks, and where nations will never go to war or prepare for war (Isaiah: 2:4). Religious groups have always been identified with ideas on new world orders, looking to the 'Millennium'. The word itself comes from the 20th chapter of the Revelation to John, which is about Christ's coming thousand-year rule on earth. Millenniary movements have also been active in Taoism, Zoroastrianism, Judaism and Islam, although less conspicuously than in Christianity. Marx absorbed some of this fervour from his Jewish-turned-Christian parents and this is reflected in his writings. It is not surprising, then, to find the same millenniary fervour in some ideologies of communist countries.

Imperialists, or potential imperialists, such as the Great Khan, Alexander the Great, Charlemagne, Napoleon and Hitler took another route towards the establishment of the world-state. For most of recorded history people have lived in administrative units other than nations. Most units have been tribal, and some tribes have been part of an empire. Until this century's rapid improvements in transport and communications, some tribes may have been part of an empire without knowing it. Despite allegations concerning United States and Soviet Union foreign policies, the world does not now have any empires on the grand pattern. Some nations — especially those in the west — still have great financial influence over new nations, and other nations occasionally take over new territory as Indonesia did in invading East Timor. But imperialism as such is no longer so attractive: recent colonial wars have shown that the cost of controlling empires is often greater than their worth. (Portugal at the height of its African campaigns in the 1960s was spending more per capita than the United States was in Vietnam — and the military eventually revolted against colonial policy and overthrew the Lisbon government in April 1974). Military glory is expensive now to come by and no longer wears the aura it once enjoyed. Nations wanting to

influence others or to gain a good international 'image' are now more likely to invest in sports teams, artistic events and glossy public relations publications.

It is not this chapter's purpose to list all the grand designs for a new world order. Such designs, as indicated by the Isaiah quotation, have been suggested for almost 3,000 years.

This chapter looks briefly at some of the major movements for a new world order in recent times. However, even these outlines will show that talk of 'world federalism' and 'planetary citizens' is neither novel, nor limited to only a few. Australia, unhappily, can boast only an active World Federalist Movement and the UN Association. It is hoped that this chapter will be a guide to significant developments overseas. The movements listed are all mass-membership non-governmental organizations working, in different ways, for a new world order. Research organizations (like the New York-based Institute for World Order) and publications (like *The New Humanity* from London, *Evolution* from Rome and *World Peace News* from New York) are not listed.

The following descriptions are designed only to convey some of the colour and imagination of the proposals. They make no attempt to analyse each project or to point out strengths and weaknesses. Nor are they a history of new world order movements — such a book has yet to be written.

World Federal Union

Clarence K. Streit's *Union Now* (Jonathan Cape, London, 1939) was a best-seller just prior to World War II. Streit argued that if the then surviving fifteen democracies were to form an organic union, Hitler would be checked and World War II averted. Despite the war — or perhaps even because of it — the Federal Union movement at its height had in Britain about twelve thousand members. Similar groups existed in the United States and on the European continent. There were also supporters in Australia. The movement for World Federal Government and the International Movement for Atlantic Union were both inspired by Streit's book.

Streit's book, four hundred closely argued pages, is now mainly of

historical interest — but no doubt many Third World countries would argue that the fifteen western countries (with a few others, such as Japan) do constitute now, after all, a united front hindering their economic development!

Streit saw a need for a nucleus world government composed of like-minded democracies (and not the universalism which was to characterize the UN), listing: the United States, Britain, France, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Finland, Holland, Ireland, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and South Africa. In 1938, these fifteen nations owned almost half the earth, ruled all its oceans and governed nearly half the earth's people. They conducted among themselves trade amounting to two-thirds of all international trade. They had more than 60 per cent control of such war essentials as oil, copper, lead, steel, iron, coal, tin, cotton, wool and shipping tonnage. They possessed practically all the world's gold and banked wealth. They easily had more military power than Germany, Italy and Japan.

Streit said that there were only two ways of organizing inter-state government: by league or union. He argued for the union method since this required far closer co-operation between governments. Indeed the basis for union could not be the nation but had to be individual citizens. The union legislature would consist of two houses. A House of Deputies (like the US and Australian Houses of Representatives) would be elected on the basis of the total population. A Senate (as with the US and Australian Senates) would be elected on the basis of two persons per nation, irrespective of the population. The 'government' would consist of five persons, three elected directly and one each elected from the two legislative houses. The judiciary would be based on the US system (which in turn came from England).

Within two years, twelve of the fifteen democracies were at war (Ireland, Switzerland and Sweden remained neutral), engendering a highly centralized form of control. The Soviet Union, to which Streit had an ambiguous — though not completely hostile — approach took a greater part in the war's prosecution that Streit had foreseen and was therefore influential in shaping the UN.

After World War II, Streit amended his original proposal to

include West Germany, Italy, Portugal, Iceland, Luxembourg, Greece and Turkey, while excluding the European neutrals, Austria, Finland, Ireland, Sweden and Switzerland. (Clarence K. Streit, *Freedom's Frontier — Atlantic Union Now*, Freedom and Union Press, Washington D.C.). The proposed federation would have central government endowed with five basic rights: (i) to grant citizenship (ii) to make peace and war, (iii) to regulate interstate and foreign trade, (iv) to issue money, and (v) to govern communications (mail and media). All residual powers should be left to member-nations of the union.

Streit's ideas have been very influential, both in what Streit himself had to say and the boost he gave to other ideas for some form of Atlantic union. Some of the enthusiasm for Atlantic union declined during the 1960s, as western Europe itself became more interdependent in the European Economic Community and Britain ceased being the link between the United States and western Europe.

The Anatomy of Peace

The Anatomy of Peace (Emery Reves, Harper, New York, Penguin, London, 1945) was published before the UN Charter came into force. By the end of the year it had become one of the year's most controversial and best-selling books.

Emery Reeves claimed that we should stop using the nation as the basis of international thinking and instead take a global view. He argued that capitalism, socialism and religion had all 'failed'. The key to the modern age was industrialization and this was hampered by national boundaries. If the dynamics of industrialization were to be restrained within national boundaries, this could only be done via fascism. Moreover, war takes place whenever and wherever non-integrated social units (cities, tribes, nations) of equal sovereignty come into contact. Peace between fighting groups in past eras was never achieved until there was some sovereign power over and above the clashing social units, stopping the fighting and integrating the warring units into a higher sovereignty. Wars between nations will not stop until there is some form of international authority with sufficient power to bring the nations together.

Reves was critical of the League of Nations because, he said, it was

based on the false notion that peace between national units could be maintained simply by bringing their representatives together to debate their differences, without making fundamental changes in their relationships to each other. He opposed the word 'international' since it recognized the need to bring nations themselves together. He preferred 'universalism', whose purpose was to create peace by legal order among individuals and above the existing nation-state structure.

Reves said that world government is the first step to global peace. He said that two per cent of the money and effort spent for research and production of the atomic bomb would be sufficient to carry out an educational movement that would make clear to the people how peace can be attained in human society. He argued for massive campaigns for acceptance of universalism and the imperative need for universal law. He pointed to the rapid construction of the atomic bomb (in an era when most scientists believed it to be impossible to make one) as proof that things can be done quickly when humans have the right motivation. He did not, however, provide specific suggestions for the proposed universal law. The book's strength derived, instead, from its timing: after the war many people around the world were anxious to avert World War III. His subject indicated many potentialities for research.

World Federalists

The World Association of World Federalists is one of the oldest non-governmental organizations working for a new world order. It was formed as a result of a conference of four hundred persons, mostly from Europe, held at Montreaux, Switzerland in 1947. The conference was held at a time when, according to a British participant, Monica Wingate, the movement 'had become a self-contained entity'. World federalism of one sort or another has remained consistently the major plank of all non-governmental initiatives working for a new world order. Other organizations have come and gone; other initiatives have come and gone; the concept of world federalism has persisted.

World Federalists have never formally sponsored world government as such. 'World government' has '1984'-type connotations which may deter potential supporters: they may reflect

upon how difficult it is to influence local or national governments and so despair of trying to influence a world government.

World Federalists use the term 'world federalism' to imply a division of governmental responsibilities for local, national and world problems. World Federalists have not proposed a specific constitution for the world based on world federalism. They have argued for the alteration of the UN Charter, preferably by a world conference. They have strongly recommended certain principles that should form the basis for any organized political authority which should have: the power (a) to establish effective world law, (b) to prohibit any nation from using force in international disputes (c), to control the manufacture of armaments, (d) to govern the high seas, (e) to raise revenue directly, (f) to keep the peace through the use of adequately armed peace forces, (g) to find a voting system more realistic than the present one nation, one vote formula, (h) to provide for universal membership without right of secession, (i) to establish a judiciary capable of settling conflicts by peaceful means, (j) to establish a bill of rights protecting individuals from arbitrary action by the UN. Such laws must be binding on individuals rather than on nations. Until such a world conference is convened World Federalists continue to support movements around the globe working for the introduction of binding authority on a small scale.

World Federalists now have a more gradualist approach to the creation of a New International Order, which the early Federalists did not accept. (The next section outlines a project of vintage world federalism which is no longer enthusiastically supported by current World Federalists). World Federalists are, nevertheless, active. At the 18th World Congress of the World Federalist Movement (Tokyo, Japan 1980), a proclamation was adopted, which stated in part:

> A new international order must replace the existing system. All nations of the world must assume fundamental and joint responsibility to use existing structures and agencies and to create new ones complementary to the national states, as may be required for:
>
> — peaceful settlement of disputes,
>
> — achievement of general and complete disarmament,

- fair distribution of world's resources and an equitable international economic order,
- protection and improvement of the human environment, including the biosphere which surrounds the planet,
- responsible management of the common heritage of mankind, including the oceans and outer space, to benefit all mankind,
- satisfaction of the basic needs of all world citizens and protection and promotion of all categories of Human Rights.

The new world order must respect, not ignore, the diversity of inherited culture and values, and it must enable all peoples, including those of the developing countries, to enjoy the benefits of human civilization.

Establishment of the new world order will require changes in industrialized countries, in developing countries and in the relationships between them. First and foremost, within industrialized countries, a transition from classical quantitative growth to newly defined forms of qualitative development is urgently needed despite the sacrifices which may be involved. Utmost priority must be given to global eradication of poverty and to satisfaction of basic needs of all citizens.

The World Association of World Federalists calls upon international institutions, governments, non-governmental organizations and all concerned, including individual world federalists and other associations, to make people more conscious of these serious issues facing humanity.

Among specific World Federalist campaigns are:

(i) Support for the UN system, especially in those operative phases which reveal the potential of supranational authority, such as the International Seabed Authority to be set up under the new law of the sea.

(ii) Support for human rights protection arrangements, such as the ratification of the two UN 1966 Human Rights Covenants, the

creation of a UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (the international ombudsman), the creation of a UN Human Rights Council to relieve the overworked Economic and Social Council of its human rights work.

(iii) Support for a new international economic order to increase the export earnings of developing countries through an increase and stabilization of commodity prices; to facilitate the transfer of technology to developing countries; to increase the relative economic self-reliance of developing countries; and to give developing countries greater influence in UN bodies like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

(iv) Support for general and complete disarmament, which includes the creation of more regional nuclear-free zones; a comprehensive nuclear test ban; stopping the spread of nuclear weapons; reduced sales of conventional weapons; a ban on the development and use of chemical weapons; the creation of a UN World Disarmament Authority.

Although the World Federalists have not used this phrase, their current grand strategy is really one of developing a 'transnational perspective' for all people around the world. Instead of pushing any particular grand plan for some global authority, they are helping to create the appropriate psychological foundation which all such grand plans require if they are to be successful. Incidentally *Transnational Perspectives* is the title of an excellent magazine which the World Federalist have helped sponsor.

The need for a transnational perspective was indicated in a circular issued by the United States World Federalists' Association (the situation is probably as bad, if not worse, in Australian schools):

— A 1979 government survey showed that 27 per cent of American high school seniors believe that Golda Meir was president of Egypt.

— A recent study of civic education by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization involving 30,000 people compared 14-year-olds in the U.S. with those in the Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, Ireland, Israel,

Italy, the Netherlands, and New Zealand. Our American students were top of the scale in their knowledge of local, state and national affairs. But in knowledge about world affairs, the Americans were next to the bottom.

— Commenting on another survey made of high school seniors, former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger said: 'It is disturbing to discover that . . . a study demonstrated that 50% of students leaving high school were unable to identify the Arab country when presented with a choice between India, Israel, Egypt, and Mexico. That statistic should concern us all.'

— Only five per cent of the nation's public school teachers have had any exposure to international studies.

In the words of Fred Hechinger of *The New York Times*, 'Ignorance and apathy about the world beyond America's boundaries may undermine this country's political, diplomatic, and economic influence.'

There are Associations of World Federalists in several nations. They vary considerably in membership, finance and range of activities. Their convictions are endorsed by the successful creation of federations such as those in the United States, India and Australia. All present federations were preceded by doubts that they would work. Benjamin Franklin, for example, said in 1783 that the original thirteen states of the United States were too many to form a nation.

World Peace Through World Law

The most comprehensive global institution devised since 1945 remains the study by Grenville Clark and Louis B. Sohn *World Peace Through World Law* (Harvard University Press, 1966). The book's first edition was in reaction to the anticipated 1955 review of the UN Charter. While the review did not take place, it did stimulate the reaction of a unique publication by two distinguished US lawyers.

The book's third edition presents alternative models for a world organization equipped to achieve and maintain total national disarmament, to enforce world law against international violence,

and to promote world economic and social development. The first model, which is derived from the book's first edition, is based upon a thorough revision of each Article of the UN Charter. The second model provides for a new world security and development organization which would supplement the existing UN peacekeeping machinery, and which, together with the UN, would have the necessary minimum powers to prevent war. Throughout all the updating, the authors have followed six principles:

First: It is futile to expect general peace until there is put into effect an effective system of enforceable world law in the limited field of war prevention. This implies: (a) the complete disarmament, under effective controls, of each and every nation, and (b) the simultaneous adoption on a world-wide basis of the measures and institutions which the experience of centuries has shown to be essential for the maintenance of law and order, namely, clearly stated law against violence, courts to interpret and apply that law and police to enforce it. All else, we conceive depends upon the acceptance of this approach.

Second: The world law against international violence must be explicitly stated in constitutional and statutory form. It must, under appropriate penalties, forbid the use of force by any nation against any other for any cause whatever, save only in self-defence; and must be applicable to all individuals as well as to all nations.

Third: World judicial tribunals to interpret and apply the world law against international violence must be established and maintained, and also organs of mediation and conciliation, so as to substitute peaceful means of adjudication and adjustment in place of violence, or the threat of it, as the means of dealing with all international disputes.

Fourth: A permanent world police force must be created and maintained which, while safeguarded with utmost care against misuse, would be fully adequate to forestall or suppress any violation of the world law against international violence.

Fifth: The complete disarmament of all nations (rather than the mere 'reduction' or 'limitations' of armaments) is essential for any solid and lasting peace, this disarmament to be completed in a

simultaneous and proportional manner by carefully verified stages and subject to a well-organised system of inspection. It is now generally accepted that disarmament must be universal and enforceable. That it must also be complete is no less necessary, since: (a) in the nuclear age no mere reduction in the new means of mass destruction could be effective to remove fear and tension; and (b) if any substantial national armaments were to remain, even if only ten per cent of the armaments of 1960, it would be impracticable to maintain a sufficiently strong world police force to deal with any possible aggression or revolt against the authority of the world organization. We should face the fact that until there is complete disarmament of every nation without exception there can be no assurance of genuine peace.

Sixth: Effective world machinery must be created to mitigate the vast disparities in the economic condition of various regions of the world, the continuance of which tends to instability and conflict.

In accordance with these principles, the authors have put forward extensive proposals for the revision of the UN Charter. Instead of advocating the abolition of the UN, the authors believe that the UN provides a useful outline and has prestige, both of which can be used for a World Government. It is impossible to summarize the book in a few paragraphs (it has almost four hundred pages) but below are outlined its salient proposals for the reform of the UN.

The General Assembly would be made the most important focal point of the UN's work (at present the Security Council is). The General Assembly would assume the Council's power for the maintenance of international peace and security. The voting would be altered from one State/one vote to a system of weighted voting, with the most populous states having the most votes, with the eventual aim of the Assembly being composed of representatives directly elected by people — an international parliament.

The Security Council would be abolished. In its place would be an Executive Committee, composed of seventeen representatives elected by the General Assembly who would remain answerable to the Assembly. The present special treatment for the Big Five (US, UK, Soviet Union, France and China) would largely go, so there would be no veto.

The Economic and Social Council would remain, though with altered membership provisions in line with the overall revision of the UN membership and it would be responsible to the Assembly; it would have funds because of the extra work the authors expect it to do. Similarly, the Trusteeship Council (which since the book was first written has gradually been working itself out of a job) would have a different membership to handle the remainder of the trust territories.

The UN's disarmament work has not been anywhere as near successful as was hoped. The authors provide a plan for the elimination of all national armaments in three stages: the appointment of an inspection commission (elected and supervised by the Executive Committee); a ten year stage in which there would be a step-by-step proportional reduction in all national armaments. Since the inspection process may not be completely successful in removing all national arms, the authors provide a world peace force of between 200,000 and 600,000 personnel stationed around the world and controlled by the Assembly. There would also be a peace force reserve of between 600,000 and 1,200,000 to help maintain the peace force. Neither force would be directly armed with nuclear weapons, but there would be a nuclear energy authory that would, on Assembly instructions, make the weapons available to the peace force.

The present International Court of Justice would be given compulsory jurisdiction over all international legal disputes and so would pronounce on matters whether or not the parties to a dispute wanted the ICJ to intervene (at present the ICJ compulsory jurisdiction is accepted by only some nations, most of which have limited the range of items falling under the ICJ's jurisdiction). The General Assembly would enforce the ICJ's decision if necessary, by using the peace force. For those disputes which are not of a distinctly legal nature, the authors propose a world equity tribunal which would make only recommendations to the parties to a dispute; if three-quarters of the Assembly thought that the carrying out of a recommendation by the tribunal was essential for the preservation of peace, then the decision would have the same power as that of an ICJ decision so that the Assembly, if necessary, would use force to get it implemented. Between them the ICJ and tribunal would cover all

international disputes. The authors also propose a world conciliation board so that parties could initially refer their disputes to this board for mediation without having to go directly to the ICJ or tribunal.

The other UN bodies, like UNESCO and WHO, would continue in much the same way as now but with increased functions and finance. This conforms to the authors' intention, which is not to disperse with anything which has proved useful, but rather to revise, supplement and strengthen the existing structure so that the UN will be able to maintain international peace.

Along with these institutional reforms, the authors propose a wide range of enforcement measures and penalties, including prosecution in UN regional courts of individuals responsible for violating the UN's laws. There would be a world development authority whose function would be to assist in the economic and social development of less developed countries. To pay for the new institutions and programs, there would be a UN revenue system, the bulk of the revenue coming from the taxes imposed on each state. Finally, the authors propose a bill of rights with a two-fold purpose: (a) to emphasize the limited scope of the strengthened UN by an explicit reservation to the member nations and their peoples of all powers not delegated by express language or clear implication and (b) to guarantee that the strengthened UN shall not in any manner violate the rights of the individual.

The American Federalists were much taken by the book but they never adopted that position officially and federalists in other countries were less enthusiastic.

The book's main defect, according to some people who were supporters of world federalism, was its legalism. Law works best in a community of common values, where people agree on the same values, methods and ends. It fares worst, ironically, when it is most needed: in a community where there are no agreed values, methods and ends. Law is the formalizing of widely held social and political views.

International law is currently undergoing a major change. Governments, are being obliged, often against their will, to co-operate far more than ever before and this co-operation is being

formalized by treaties, hundreds of which are entered into every year. Despite mass media reports, international treaties do have a good record of implementation. There are three major incentives for following a treaty. First, each treaty contains a balance of advantages and obligations. A government, wishing to escape the obligations, has to weigh up the consequences of losing the advantages. Second, a treaty may have harsher methods of inducement, namely, the threat of retaliation if the treaty is broken. If Australia broke a treaty with Japan, for example, Japan could retaliate by using some economic lever against Australia. Finally, if a government gets an international reputation for breaking treaties, other governments will be wary of making agreements with it.

A problem arises, however, not so much at the level of day-to-day contacts but, in effect in the international framework. Governments make international treaties and treaties often further the system of nation-states. No government (except possibly one which has lost a war) can be forced to accept international obligations.

The Clark and Sohn book is a good example of the international Catch 22 — a new world order is required to replace the present one which is prone to failing in world affairs, but a new world order (such as the book's two models) can only come about through nations agreeing to it — and part of the global chaos is due to governments not recognizing that they are part of the problem. Asking the governments to create a new world is like asking the mafia to stamp out organized crime.

Just because an idea seems so sensible to the average person, there is no guarantee that politicians will follow it. A good example of this was Norman Angell's book *The Great Illusion* which, immediately prior to World War I explained why there was little to be gained from having a war and why it would therefore be better for states to avoid war. He was right, of course, but the politicians had to have a war in order to be convinced of this.

World Regionalism

One stream of thinking which has found some world federalist support has been the creation of regional governmental authorities. The European Economic Community (EEC) is the best example of

this — indeed it is one of the few such projects to last. The only comparable one is in eastern Europe: COMECON. There are weaker forms of intergovernmental authorities in the Americas (Organisation of American States) and Africa (Organization for African Unity).

Lord Gladwyn, who was Acting UN Secretary-General 1945-6, wrote (in the *Political Quarterly*, London, in 1970) about the UN's failure to handle world problems and he suggested an interesting alternative. He predicted that by the end of the century, the world would be dominated by at least five huge political and economic groupings: United States, Soviet Union, Europe (basically western Europe and Scandinavia), China and Japan. Other groupings could include Latin American, South-East Asia, some Islamic nations, and Africa. He argued that the General Assembly should go. Instead, the new world authority would contain representatives of the regions and this would set the pace for international affairs.

The EEC gets a mixed press these days. The initial enthusiasm for it has waned and some critics (including those in the EEC nations) complain that it is not doing enough to help developing countries. Meanwhile, the executive commission is getting annoyed about its currently impotent position in practically all fields entrusted to it. The commission has had some success in standardizing milk bottle sizes but, the critics argue, it has done little to drain the 'wine lake' or reduce the 'mountains' of butter, sugar and meat. How can we seriously think of creating some form of world authority, they ask if we are still unable to establish even a (partially) European government, limited to the EEC's territory and population?

The 1947 Montreaux Conference agreed that 'the formation of regional federations — in so far as they do not become an end in themselves or run the risk of crystallizing into blocs — should contribute to the effective functioning of world federal government'. This averted a major split among world federalism adherents. But some activists devoted most of their time to working for the EEC.

The difficulty with regionalism, foreseen in 1947, is that one can end up with George Orwell's '1984'-type situation: competing geographical regions. The system of warring nations would be replaced by one of warring super-nations.

On the other hand, the regional approach should at least reduce the risk of conflict within each region and would smooth traditional causes of conflict, such as those between France and Germany. It would also prepare people for developing a loyalty towards a political unit larger than their own nation, and so pave the way for global unity.

World Constitution and Parliament Association

The WCPA began action in 1958 for a World Constitutional Convention. Nineteen years were devoted to producing a draft constitution for a 'Federation of Earth'. The 'World Constituent Assembly' (of individuals in their capacities) was held at Innsbruck, Austria in June 1977. The constitution was signed initially by 138 participants from twenty-five countries of six continents. The 'Earth Constitution' was circulated in 1978. A further 'World Constituent Assembly' was held in Sri Lanka in 1979. Plans are in hand for convening the first session of the 'Provisional World Parliament' in 1982.

The main provisions of the 1977 constitution for the 'Federation of Earth' are for:

A World Parliament composed of:

A House of Peoples, elected directly by the people equally from one thousand world electoral and administration districts.

A House of Nations, appointed or elected by national governments.

A House of Counsellors. Two hundred elected by the other two houses, with nominative, consultative and referral functions.

A World Executive, elected by and responsible to the Parliament.

A Presidium of rotating president and four vice-presidents, all MPs.

An Executive Cabinet of thirty ministers, all MPs.

(The World Executive may not veto or suspend the

parliament.)

A World Administration of about thirty departments, each headed by a cabinet minister or vice-president; co-ordinated be a secretary general chosen by the presidium and confirmed by the cabinet.

An Integrative Complex, including agencies for world civil services, boundaries and elections, institute of governmental procedures and world problems, research and planning, technological and environmental assessment and world financial administration.

A World Judiciary, composed of eight benches having jurisdiction over different kinds of issues, with five continental seats. A collegium of world judges elected by parliament, headed by a presiding council of five members which assigns judges to the several benches.

An Enforcement System, non-military, headed by an office of world attorneys-general and a commission of twenty regional world attorneys elected by and removable by parliament. The world attorneys will appoint the world police to apprehend individual lawbreakers. The world police are also removable by the parliament.

A World Ombudsman, to protect human rights, headed by a council of five world ombudsmen and a commission of twenty regional world advocates, all elected by the parliament.

A Bill of Rights of eighteen sections to become effective when the constitution is ratified.

Directional Principles of nineteen sections, additional rights and benefits to be implemented over a period of time from all world citizens.

Jurisdiction of World Government defined in a grant of powers of forty sections. Nations will retain jurisdiction over internal affairs.

Elections and Administration. Earth divided into 1,000 districts, twenty regions, ten magna-regions, at least five continental divisions.

Five World Capitals established in five continental divisions, one the primary capital, the others secondary capitals.

Implementation of the Earth Constitution by Stages:

Provisional world government before twenty-five have ratified.

First operative stage, when twenty-five countries have ratified

Second operative step, when fifty per cent of countries have ratified.

Full operative step, when eighty per cent of countries, comprising ninety per cent of Earth's population has ratified.

Disarmament of nations to be accomplished when the constitution is ratified. The world government is always non-military.

Viable Agencies of the UN to be transferred to the world government.

This is a continuation of the Clark and Sohn approach of providing a specific text for consideration. Such an operation appeals to some people, but deters others, who prefer to talk in general terms about the need for a world order and concentrate on consciousness-raising only. This project is proof of the wide range of interests catered for, including persons who like to debate the fine details of a world constitution. The constitution is also proof of the existence of the talented people who are willing to provide their skills at no cost to do this detailed work.

International Registry of World Citizens

On April 23, 1948, Garry Davies declared himself a world citizen (he was previously a United States citizen) and put himself under the UN's protection. He and his companions began printing the first World Citizenship cards. On October 22, 1948, twenty-five eminent

people created a Council of Solidarity in Garry Davies' favour. The International Registry of World Citizens was created on January 1, 1949. There are over a million world citizens currently registered, living in 105 nations, with national centres operating in twenty-three nations.

Garry Davies is one of the few initiators of the ideas in this chapter who has attracted mass media attention. Britain's conservative *Daily Telegraph* (March 23, 1973) did an article on the world passport:

> Garry Davies first began thinking along the lines which led to his World Passport while serving as an American Air Force bomber pilot over Germany in the War. He became convinced that nationalism would one day be the end of the world. 'If you can sell the concept of nationality to a child at an early age, you've got him hooked for life. He'll pay taxes for war, commit murder, separate children from their mothers, husbands from wives . . . all in the name of country.
>
> 'This is the big lie of the 20th Century. The whole political and diplomatic world is founded on the myth that the nation state has any relevance to the problems facing the human race.'
>
> So Davis, abandoning an acting career on Broadway, decided that he would try to explode that myth. In 1948 he walked into the American Embassy in Paris, surrendered his passport and declared himself a citizen of the world. 'I regarded my renunciation of nationality as a positive act since the imposition of nationality at birth was a negative one.' Unfortunately the world did not quite see it that way. Between 1948 and 1953 Davis was jailed sixteen times (including a spell in Brixton) merely for lacking proper travel documents.
>
> Then, in September 1953, in Ellsworth, Maine, he declared world government and printed his own passport. Copies of the new passport and a covering letter were sent to every member government of the United Nations. Thirty-six nations replied. Most of them simply acknowledged receipt of the passport, but three countries (Ecuador, Yemen and Laos) recognized the passport immediately. In the year following the declaration,

658,000 people round the world registered as citizens of the world. In 1954 Davis went to India where he personally delivered a world passport to Nehru. In 1960 his book, *My Country is the World*, was published in England and America.

After this things began to cool off on the world government front. By 1970 the idea of a world passport had all but faded when Davis ran into a cheerful American called Jim Haynes. Haynes' variegated career includes thirteen years in Britain during which he opened the Traverse Theatre and helped to found *International Times* and the Arts Lab in Drury Lane; he now lectures at the University of Paris. It was he who persuaded Garry Davis to revive the world passport.

So in 1971 they printed a second batch of world passports, this time 7,000 copies. Once again they sent copies to all member governments of the United Nations. The passport itself is in five languages and bound in a blue plastic cover, imprinted in gold with a map of the world. In the past year over four thousand have been issued.

Two types of people seem to apply for world passports. Firstly, those . . . who lack any kind of travel document. Secondly, people who do have nationality, but who support the idea in principle.

The second group, which is the majority of world passport holders, includes Peter Fonda, a handful of actors with the Royal Shakespeare Company and Richard Neville. With this kind of patronage there is, of course, a danger that world passports will simply become a trendy status symbol. Jim Haynes concedes there may be an element of this 'but generally it represents sincere disillusionment with nationalism'.

Haynes also makes clear that world passport holders are not encouraged to throw away their nationality — if they have one. 'We simply want to place the sovereignty of the individual above national sovereignty'.

Garry Davis is adamant that his world passport is firmly based on international law. Article 13(ii) of the Universal Declaration of

Human Rights to which all member states of the United Nations are signatories states: 'Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own, and return to his country'. Davis argues that his country is the world and points out that the Charter makes no mention of passports or visas, which are essentially 20th Century phenomena.

On a practical level, the passport may hopefully be used to rescue people, many as yet unheard of, rotting in obscure jails. Its effectiveness, however, depends on how many governments are prepared to recognize it as a valid travel document.

Emergency World Council

The Movement for Political World Union, based at The Hague in the Netherlands, is a non-profit international non-governmental organization. It is working for the establishment of a democratic Emergency World Government. It was established in the Netherlands by Dr. J. H. C. Creyghton in 1969 under the name World Union Movement and has members in over fifty countries. In 1962 Dr. Creyghton published *International Anarchy* and this best-seller resulted in popular demand for an organization to follow up Dr. Creyghton's ideas.

The Emergency World Council is a preparatory step for the Emergency World Government. The PWU is recruiting a large number of well-known individuals to form the Council. The Council will later select persons capable of standing as a provisional world government. Almost two hundred of the anticipated five hundred persons have been recruited for the Council. To speed up the Council's work, in February 1980 an Emergency World Council Executive was formed. Also during 1980 nominations were received for the Emergency Government itself, including Julius Nyerere, President of Tanzania, Olaf Palme, former Prime Minister of Sweden, Willy Brandt, former Chancellor of West Germany, Michael Manley, former Prime Minister of Jamaica.

The Emergency World Government would have a specific role: to settle pressing matters relating to security and disarmament. It would then organize the formation of a Democratic World Government responsible to a World Parliament chosen in a free election by a

secret ballot.

The PWU is working specifically for a world govenment based on individuals and not nations. It has argued that governments cannot be trusted to create a world government since they want to remain in business (even though they are doing so badly at running the world's affairs). Second, unlike the other initiatives mentioned previously in this chapter, the PWU's initiative has a substantive Third World component, through its Emergency World Council members, and it even has members from eastern Europe. Third, instead of campaigning for a specific world government constitution, the PWU is more active in winning support for the principle of world government.

Planetary Citizens

Planetary Citizens, based in New York, was formed in 1970. It works to increase people's awareness of their role as citizens of not just their individual nation, but of the entire planet. Its president, Donald Keys, has for some years been the UN representative of the World Association of World Federalists. He personifies the ability of several people covered by this chapter to co-operate with a broad range of organizations working for the new world order. Planetary Citizens has about 200,000 members.

Planetary Citizens, although not entirely satisfied with the UN's performance, does not devote itself to drafting world constitutions or even creating a groundswell of opinion in favour of some form of world government. It is working for a new consciousness among the earth's people and so bridges world-government and counter-culture activists.

Planetary Citizens has a wide range of educational material, and organizes conferences and public meetings. Members become Planetary Citizens and adhere to the Pledge of Planetary Citizenship. It has three annual Planetary Citizen-of-the-Year Awards (for a citizen at large, one member of the UN Secretariat, and one member of the diplomatic corps). Keys also compiles each year a detailed report on the UN General Assembly, which is widely read among governments, diplomats and one-world activists. Keys has explained his organization's approach as follows:

And now we come to factor 'X', being the extent to which New Age energies and values will invest the human scene in the next decade. Changed values, attitudes, and people can and do change governments, nations and the world.

'*Voluntary simplicity*' is already a major factor in the US economy. People are opting for more meaningful, more fulfilling life styles, and in the process are affecting every aspect of society. Small scale, hand crafting, earth kindliness, time for self-deepening, and for involvement in community concerns are new emphases permeating society. Food habits have been greatly affected. 'Soft' technologies, alternative technologies, intermediate technologies are now household words throughout the developed world. Education for global citizenship is the newest turn in official education.

Behind much of this activity are what I like to call the 'Woodstock Values'* of *caring, sharing and community*. And values are not abstracts. Values are specific energies invested with new dynamisms, new directions, new and higher ceilings of potential, higher penetration of the possible, accelerated frequencies in events and the opportunity for human transmutation, transcendence and transformation.

The New Age groups are refocusing and entering a new stage — a world-related stage. They are becoming mature enough to begin to shoulder some of the load of humanity's burden. They are beginning to realize that in the person's large extension, the world's problems are his/her own, personal, specific problems, and that individuals cannot and do not stand apart from the responsibility for their solution. The New Age is now going political, and this will call for utmost maturity, 'centredness', clarity, humility and hard work, often, if not usually, in alien territory. The 'X' factory is extraordinarily active in the western world, but as yet has little effect on the rest of the planet. The spread of new age values as a unifying 'yeast' in the human loaf may be the critical ingredient for successful emergence from the 1980s.

* Many people view the Woodstock Music Festival of 1969, where hundreds of thousands of people from the 'alternative' sub-cultures came together, as the inauguration of a new wave of values.

Planetary Citizens come from all walks of life — workers, statesmen, executives, astronauts, philosophers, homemakers, government officials. They come from all parts of the world. They share a global view which goes beyond racial, religious and political beliefs. The organizational purpose of Planetary Citizens is, in part, to achieve universal recognition by each individual that each of us is a citizen, not only of our countries, but also of the planet Earth.

Global Citizens Association

The Association was formed in 1976 by the Quebec-based Duncan Graham, who was inspired by the statement that 'Man must change more in the next twenty-five years than in the last twenty-five thousand'. Graham is sceptical of the UN bringing about the changes and the GCA puts emphasis on mustering grassroots support for a global system. He likens the grassroots movements to 'engineers (who) build a bridge across a gorge by shooting a rocket across trailing a fine thread. This is secured and is used to pull across a string followed by a cord, rope, and finally the steel cables of which the structure is assembled. So, too, can a global parliament of people be created by weaving one thread with another'.

The CGA's objectives are:

1. To sponsor, organize and catalyze an assembly or conference of people representing in a variety of ways the global family. This would not be confined to national or territorial groups. This conference would explore the areas of legitimacy of global community concerns and the route to global responsibility — initially as a parallel organization to the United Nations. It would be based on the assumption that no one present political or religious philosophy has the whole situation. This is the prime objective of the Global Citizens and would be the source for further action and directions.

2. To promote and explore the principle of personal accountability, responsibility and culpability, as already initiated in international law, of those involved in conflict postures and actions, violations of human rights and torture.

3. To establish and promote the necessity of a universal co-language for trans-cultural communication.

4. To encourage the proposition that the planet's non-renewable natural resources are the common heritage of the human family and must be developed for the benefit of all.

5. To encourage the concept of global citizenship by sponsoring global education workshops and making available material that incorporates the global perspective.

6. To encourage the establishment of local 'grass-roots' groups for discussion and consciousness-expanding and to act as a balance between the local or regional perspective and the global interest.

This statement comes from the first draft of August 7, 1975. 'We must give form and outline to the global community and environment by re-phrasing present perspectives and anticipating the future rather than re-acting to the current problems by reforming the present'.

This organization is quoted here since it complements the much larger and more active Planetary Citizens organization. The GCA was formed by one person and is still largely financed by one person. It is proof of what one person can do in his own locality to create a feeling of one world among the neighbours.

Esperanto

Esperanto was created in 1887 as a second language for international communication. It is the only project for an international language to have grown into a full-fledged language with its own world-wide speech community. It is both a spoken and a written language. Its lexicon is derived primarily from western European languages. Its syntax and morphology show strong Slavic influences and have much in common with analytical languages, like Chinese. The largest Esperanto dictionary contains 15,000 roots, from which some 150,000 words can be formed. Esperanto is relatively easy to learn for speakers of all languages. Esperanto groups exist in almost all countries — irrespective of political ideology. Universala Esperanto-Asocio has had consultative status with the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization since

1954.

Esperanto is included in a chapter of plans for a new world order since, although its adherents are not necessarily politically motivated, the need for a common world language has been recognized for centuries. The UN, ironically, is itself increasing its official languages. It used to have five official languages — English, French, Russian, Chinese and Spanish — but now it has added Arabic to the list. All UN documents have to be translated into all official languages.

There have been various ideas for a common language. Latin was for centuries the common language of Europe's ruling and Christian elite. But as nations developed, so there was more attention to having national languages. Most suggestions have been based on Latin, French or English. None succeeded in getting popular usage. In recent years, English has become probably the most widely used seond language.

However, English is becoming identified with 'cultural imperialism', in which the world's mass media, especially television programmes, are dominated by American and British productions. There are signs that many nations are resenting this influence. Meanwhile, the need for a second language is growing because of increasing transnational contacts. Esperanto may yet become the world's second language.

Parliamentarians For World Order

Parliamentarians for World Order is a newly-formed network of five hundred and fifty legislators in eighteen nations, working in national parliaments and at the UN to help build a more just and secure international system. According to its constitution, the PWO's purpose is 'to promote the cause of world institutions and enforceable world law for the peoples of the world as a single community, through parliamentary action'.

Believing that a UN parliamentary body could play an important role in strengthening world institutions, the PWO is organizing a UN Parliamentary Forum to meet at each UN General Assembly. A direct role for parliamentarians can help to democratize and

invigorate the UN, as well as build support for the UN in national legislatures. Once formally established as part of the UN system, such a body could evolve in the same way as the European Parliament, acting as a major force for transnational perspectives at the world level. It would also help educate potential ministers and world leaders in the value of the UN's work and the need to accord it a higher priority than is being done at present.

At home, in their national capitals, PWO members will be supporting practical proposals for general and complete disarmament, development and strengthening the UN. PWO members will be active, too, in the supply of positive information on the UN's work to their constituents.

Summary

To sum up, the foregoing examples illustrate the wide range of views to be found among people and organizations who wish to go beyond the UN. Some individuals are active in two or more initiatives. The World Government Organizations Co-Ordinating Council is a useful forum for exchanging views. The WGOCC is not an organization itself; only a clearing-house for ideas.

The main trends are:

(i) federal union among like-minded nations (which are not necessarily in the same geographical region);

(ii) a radical revision of the UN Charter;

(iii) creation of regional intergovernmental organizations, like the European Economic Community, with eventually some overall world authority to co-ordinate regional activities;

(iv) a constitution for a world government, totally replacing the UN;

(v) an initiative to get popular acceptance of some form of world government, without as yet deciding on the government's constitution;

(vi) creation of grass roots activities aimed at instilling a one-world feeling among all people.

Conclusion

This chapter has had two aims: to provide a sample of the main ideas for a new world order which are based on schemes going beyond the current UN and to show that all the examples are not so outlandish as may appear at first sight.

It is worth recalling how the League Covenant and UN Charter were drafted. The Covenant was largely the creation of private individuals and organizations. They were able to convince the governments at the time that the government had to move beyond the 19th century's methods of diplomacy.

During World War II the allied leaders had no need to be convinced of the importance of devising a new international organization. They worked with great care but they also worked out of the international spotlight. On the one hand, as President Roosevelt said on January 6, 1945, 'the nearer we come to vanquishing our enemies the more we inevitably become conscious of differences among the victors'. That was why he was so insistent that the UN should be established while the war was still going on. On the other hand, if all the world's then nations — which at the time represented only about a third of the total in existence in 1981 — had a say in writing the UN Charter from scratch, then the new organization would not necessarily conform to the desires of the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain. When the draft UN Charter was made available for widespread consideration and amendment some nations — especially Australia — made various attempts, some of them successful, to get the Charter improved. But the basic framework remained, although some non-governmental organizations also did get some alterations made.

The non-governmental initiatives from 1945 onwards, then, may be seen as complementing the private work carried out during World War I. They have all wanted to move beyond the progress made earlier this century. But they are hindered by the nation-state system.

The time is ripe for more non-governmental initiatives. It is too soon to say which of the previous projects will bear fruit. But it is clear that the world's problems are too serious to be left to politicians.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE EARTH

'Tell me the weight of a snowflake', a coal-mouse asked a wild dove.

'Nothing more than nothing', was the answer.

'In that case I must tell you a marvellous story', the coal-mouse said.

'I sat on the branch of a fir, close to its trunk, when it began to snow — not heavily, not in a raging blizzard — no, just like in a dream, without a sound and without any violence. Since I did not have anything better to do, I counted the snowflakes settling on the twigs and needles of my branch. Their number was exactly 3,741,952. When the 3,741,953rd dropped onto the branch — nothing more than nothing, as you say — the branch broke off.'

Having said that the coal-mouse flew away.

The dove, since Noah's time an authority on the matter, thought about the story for a while and finally said to herself, 'Perhaps there is only one person's voice lacking for peace to come to the world.'

— from *New Fables, Thus Spoke the Marabou*
by Kurt Kauter

The World in 3D: Disaster, Drift or Design

This book is based on the recognition that the earth's problems cannot be solved by governments operating independently of one another. There are only about 7,000 days left until the year 2000. The 1980s and 1990s will be among some of the earth's most exciting and dangerous years. The drama and danger will be determined by decisions which allow the world to descend into a disaster, dimly to drift along, or by the creation and implementation of a grand new design.

This concluding chapter has four tasks. It looks at one forecast of the way in which the world could be heading. Many forecasts could be quoted, ranging from World War III and the destruction of the earth, through environmental decay and economic collapse, to the belief that the earth is on the verge of a wonderful new world full of peace, pleasure and prosperity. The Toffler study is included partly because of its current popularity and because it does present an optimistic picture at a time when doom is attracting so many adherents. It is an exercise — not conducted often enough — of a person thinking of what the future could be and should be. We seem so concerned with contemporary details that we miss the larger historical trends which are already binding us together.

This chapter's second task is to emphasize the importance of education. Education is a growing process — both in the sense that there are always new ideas for what education should be about and in the sense that it is the basis of personal growth. Education is not merely preparation for life; education is life itself. This section contains some suggestions on further eduction.

Third, there is a call for a programme to be conducted within Australia to make people more aware of the need for a transnational perspective. There is also need for some 'grand designs' of what forms the world should take.

Finally, there is the need for each person to accept the personal imperative to work for a better world. Tomorrow is our future address and we should ensure that the address to which we are moving is the type of address at which we would like to live.

The Third Wave

'We are no longer where we stood a decade ago', according to Alvin Toffler, 'dazzled by changes whose relationships to one another were unknown. Today, behind the confusion of change, there is a growing coherence of pattern: the future is taking shape.' A decade ago, Alvin Toffler's book *Future Shock* put a new phrase into our vocabulary. Though not the first to draw attention to the increasing speed of change and its social consequences, he became one of the most publicized and prolific writers on this subject. In *The Third Wave,* Toffler claims that we are now living in the dawn of a new era.

The first wave, according to Toffler, was the agricultural revolution, when nomadic humans decided to stay in locations and raise cattle, till the fields, and develop urban settlements. This wave was largely initiated in the Middle East about 5,000 years ago.

The second wave, which took only about 300 years to run its course, was the industrial revolution, its energy based on non-replaceable fossil fuels, such as coal and oil. Its basic family was the nuclear family: father, mother and a few children, but with no encumbering relatives. Its organizations — schools, churches, governments, community groups — were all of hierarchical structure. Its standard method of communication was via paper and, later, the telephone. Its standard economic feature (both capitalist and communist) was the separation of individuals into either producers or consumers (depending on the goods and services they made or bought). its basic framework consisted of six standard operational procedures: standardization, specialization, synchronization (as in school and factory timetables), concentration (such as economic power), maximization (the concern for economic growth and bigness), and centralization. In terms of prevailing ideas, the second wave brought such notions as the need for humans to conquer nature, the belief that humans were the highest forms of earthly life, and the concern for economic progress irrespective of social cost.

Ironically, there is no agreement on why the second wave was initiated. Its origins were varied and colourful. For example, the exhaustion of Britain's forests prompted the use of coal. This in turn forced the mine shafts to go deeper and deeper until the old horse-

drawn pumps could no longer clear them of water. The steam engine was perfected to solve this problem and in turn it created a new set of uses for the steam engine. There is also some difficulty in seeing why the second wave is faltering. Certainly the era of cheap energy has gone, the environment is in danger, governments are collapsing under their responsibilities, and nothing seems to work any more.

The second wave economy is under stress. The centralized system of economic management is no longer effective. Every attempt to offset inflation or unemployment through nation-wide tax rebates or tax increase, or through credit control, merely aggravates the problem. The second wave mass media are ceasing to be a mass media. Large circulation daily newspapers are declining, while there is an increase in local newspapers and newsletters. A handful of television and radio stations are being replaced by a growing mixture of television (including cable television) and radio stations (such as those on the FM wave band). The second wave factory system of manufacture is being replaced by smaller manufacturing units. An increasing amount of work is being done at home, where it is cheaper and easier to communicate electronically rather than commute, and certainly it is a better work environment without all the disturbances of the offices. There is an increase in flexi-time working, job-sharing and part-time working.

The third wave, whose full impact most of us will feel in our lives, is bringing new life-styles based on renewable energy sources, new methods of production which will replace the factory assembly lines. There will be non-nuclear families, new methods of education, government, and the rise of the 'prosumer'. Toffler's prosumer is the person who produces his or her own goods and services for his or her own benefit (rather than for sale). The do-it-yourself trend, with the individual as the producer and consumer, will strengthen.

In 1956, because of the increased demand for telephone services and the cost of employing operators, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company introduced a new electronic technology that made it possible for callers to direct-dial their own long-distance calls. Today it is possible to direct-dial many overseas calls. In the US, some manufacturers now provide a telephone consultation facility in which a mechanic avoids a costly service visit by giving blow-by-blow advice over the telephone to the consumer with a

machine in need of repair. In the next few years, Australians will have some form of viewdata technology (Britain has been experimenting with Prestel for some years). This new technology uses existing telephone lines and television sets(with alterations) as visual display units. By means of a control panel, a viewer can call up data on the television set which come from a mainframe computer and travel along the telephone line. Both the telephone and television will retain their original uses. But when used in this new way, the viewer will be able to see, for example, what films are showing in town, what the weather will be like and stock market fluctuations. Eventually it will be possible for the viewer to order items of purchase via viewdata; the person will see an advertisement and be able to place the order immediately. A child doing homework has no need of encyclopaedias since the necessary information can be accessed via the viewdata system. Newspapers can be replaced by viewdata. The big obstacle to educational television has been the way in which each child learns at a different pace but the programme moves at a uniform pace. With viewdata, the child can be taught at home and each child can move at its own pace.

Toffler sees the home as the central unit in the third wave society. While at home, the workers will be able to carry out some or all of their jobs, the student will be able to learn via the television (as adapted), and the prosumers will make many of their own clothes and furniture, as well as growing their own food. But he warns that it is unlikely that any institution — not even the home — will be able to play the central role as the cathedral or the factory did in the past. Society is likely to be built around a network of institutions and relationships, rather than a hierarchy of new institutions.

Toffler's book has a number of weaknesses. He is vague about the four new clusters of economic growth: electronics and computers, the exploitation of outer space, the exploitation of the seas, and the genetics industry. Indeed, it is notable that almost all of them are high technology activities which cannot be carried out in Toffler's electronic cottage. Also, the book focuses on about ten per cent of the world's population: the well educated, white, middle-class families on a comfortable economic base. The Third World and most communist nations do not rate much of a mention in *The Third Wave's* context (they are presumably still wading the second wave).

The book's strength is its ability to lift the reader out of the murky trivia which dominate contemporary political bickering and give the reader an overview of one possible future.

The League of Nations followed World War I. The United Nations followed World War II. Nothing is likely to follow World War III. Ending the arms race is the world's greatest challenge in the short-term. That alone will change the world. It will reduce the chances of the world being suddenly destroyed. Equally significant, the arms race is the world's most extensive and expensive undertaking (over $1 billion per day) and the reallocation of the defence industry's facilities and money could change the world, providing solar energy, better health, improved literacy, and so on: the list is endless. But even with the arms race ended, or greatly reduced, the world will still need to devise some form of international government to maintain international peace and security and to ensure economic and social development, as well as protection of the environment and careful use of resources. Turning swords into ploughshares is not enough as an international campaign. We need to look also at the world order after the ploughshares have been forged.

Education for Living

An educational revolution is required both to create the right climate in which people will be encouraged to work for a better world and to maintain that new world. Charlotte Waterlow in a discussion paper for a World Federalists Meeting, made the following suggestions in the context of 'Education for World Community':

> (i) *Life-long education.* Children, adults and old people should be able to study together as their interests and needs dictate. In the poor countries the promotion of adult education is of crucial importance. China and Cuba have virtually eliminated adult illiteracy, which remains about 70 per cent in India, higher in Africa, and 50 per cent in Latin America.
>
> (ii) *A combination of education and work,* so that each day the individual will experience a mixture of learning and doing. This will involve a new emphasis on *functional education,* an approach which UNESCO has been working to develop in the poor countries, and which the Chinese have been implementing.

(iii) *Education for leisure*, that is, education to draw out creative talent for which there may be no scope in 'work', will become vital in the automated global society of the future, in which the hours and days of 'work' will have to be drastically reduced in order to give everyone enough 'work' to earn his living with dignity. These leisure activities must be treated as of central importance, so that every one is encouraged to feel that his life is significant. The present dangerous situation, wherein the unemployment of hundreds of millions of people is simply accepted as a fact of life, so that they are in fact being treated as worthless human beings, must be ended as soon as possible by measures of planned work sharing. The demoralization of the unemployed is a time bomb ticking inside the world society.

(iv) *Education for change*. Alvin Toffler has made an important point in his book *Future Shock*. Education must help people to develop in such a way that they can adjust comfortably to changes in life-style, the nature of work, and so on. A major aspect of this, which is not dealt with in Toffler's book, will be an education which inculcates the basic values, derived from the perennial philosophies, which do not change: sharing, co-operation, love, freedom, justice, etc. (see vii below).

(v) *Education for communication*. The question of the need for an international language is becoming increasingly insistent; as globilization advances, insecurity fans national and linguistic separatism. Should the aim be that everyone should learn two languages — his mother tongue and the international language — which would probably be — English?

(vi) *Education about world affairs*. While almost all modern educational systems have hitherto concentrated too much on pushing in information instead of drawing out creativity ('Inert minds pumping inert material into other inert minds' as Whitehead put it), the experience of progressive' schools has shown the dangers of abandoning 'instruction' for 'projects'. There must be a balance. Courses on the *facts* of world affairs should therefore be encouraged for all peoples. Much of the emotional fixation which fuels national and international tensions originates in mental ignorance and confusion about the facts. Classroom experience indicates that the basic facts which

underly the complexities of the world scene can be made comprehensible to adolescents, and to everyone.

(vii) *Education of world citizens.* We come back to the key question; how to promote the 'new man' which the Marxists, the theologians of liberation and other idealists are envisioning. Education must clearly seek to inculcate and inspire values and ideals. There are many ways of doing this: through literature (*Othello* and *King Lear* may help a student to understand the nature of good and evil more effectively than many a learned academic text); through art, including rythmic dancing which attunes the soul to the rhythms of the universe; through psychology, metaphysics, philosophy and comparative religion; through the practice of meditation; through mountain climbing and sailing the seas (vide the great educational success of the Boy Scout-Girl Guide and Outward Bound movements); through social service. The educational system should encourage each individual, young and old, to find his own way of discovering the beauty and divinity of the universe.

Australia played important roles in helping create the League of Nations and United Nations. An Australian, Dr. H. V. Evatt, was one of the Presidents of the UN General Assembly. Indeed, Australia was notable in the mid-1940s for its willingness to criticize all the great powers and, in effect, to be spokesperson for the 'Third World' long before the Third World itself came into existence. That initial interest, however, was not maintained and Australians became complacent observers of the world scene, interested mainly in material possessions and enjoying the 'good life'.

It is necessary to rekindle that old enthusiasm for being fully involved in the earth's affairs. Educational programmes, both in educational institutions and voluntary organizations, can rekindle that interest by emphasizing a transnational perspective.

Transnational Perspectives for Australians

This book has argued that a new world is coming. We cannot be sure what form it will take — indeed, its form is partly dependent on our actions (or lack of them). All we can be sure about is that some new world order is in the horizon. Education is an important

component in encouraging Australians to work for a better world. But we need to go further.

First, there is the need for all activists to adopt a transnational perspective to their particular concerns. In regard to disarmament, for example, activists need to work not only for ending the arms race but for progress in the peaceful settlement of international disputes, the creation of an international inspection system to ensure that disarmament agreements are followed, and for an international police force. In short: these activists should pay some attention to world government. Much the same could be said about activists concerned about helping developing countries, protecting the environment and developing alternative energy sources. Indeed, one criticism of all these campaigns is their fragmented nature and competing goals. By adopting a transnational perspective and working for world government, all these campaigns can be reconciled into a uniform approach and set of goals.

Second, more attention has to be paid to developing a 'grand strategy' for the world — a comprehensive set of goals, embracing all the main peacemeal contemporary issues, such as the arms race and the environment. This grand strategy would have four advantages. The first, as already noted, would be its importance as a rallying point for the various activist groups. Second, it will be easier to get other people interested in these issues if they know the direction in which they are heading. At present, activists are too concerned with responding to daily events and while they do attract some support, they would probably attract far more if they could provide a blueprint for world order. Indeed, the blueprint would help people gauge the progress they are making in their search for a better world. Third, visions inspire people. During World War II, for example, Lord Keynes was active in Britain not only advising the Government on what should be done to keep the economy going but also drafting a statement of 'War Aims'. His civil service colleagues thought the latter task to be a small effort when there were so many immediate daily problems to be solved. But he argued that the British people at home and overseas would be more determined to work for victory if they could see that they were not only opposing Nazi Germany and its allies but were also fighting for a better world after the war ended. He argued that the people would be less steadfast if they were working only for a return to the old economic and social conditions

of the 1930s. Keynes argued that there was a need for a vision of full employment, social security and good health services. Throughout 1941, when Britain's prospects were dismal, he continued with his draft 'War Aims'. Churchill saw the importance of this exercise and had the 'War Aims' well publicized. They inspired the British people and helped the creation of the UN. Finally, the drafting of contemporary 'Peace Aims' would involve people in helping to decide their future. There mere act of being thus involved will be an important educational experience.

There are now several 'grand strategies' for the world. The most recent is the Brandt Commission: the Report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues. But very little attention has been given in Australia to such 'grand strategies'. Australians now have a good focal point for such a national initiative. In 1988 Australia will celebrate the 200th anniversary of white settlement and the Government has decided that there should be various activities planned both before and during 1988. There should be set up a national body to examine Australia's future role in the world and what should be done to work for world government.

This book has shown that in many countries efforts are being made to develop conditions for legislation, effective to the entire planet, and the establishment of planetary authorities. An important step in this direction was taken by Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath, a member of the House of Commons of India, who introduced a Bill on July 15, 1977, with the request that the Constitution of India be amended. He proposed a clause through which India would commit itself to endeavour to 'collaborate with other nations for the early formation of a World Constituent Assembly to draft the Constitution for a World Federal Government'. Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath reminded the House that enlightened Indians had proclaimed the family of man for centuries and that the world was awaiting the step through which this age-old truth would become reality. 'In modern times', he said, 'man has gone to the moon and looked at the earth from the moon and got a vision of the earth and its size by seeing what a small planet, after all, it is in the universe'. National sovereignty therefore had no more meaning. One of the functions of a world government, he said, would be the redistribution of the population and the redistribution of food. Another would be the balance of the world

ecology. That is the objective of the Bill. If it could be implemented, India would demonstrate to the world by its example that it was prepared to collaborate in the establishment of a world government. The proposal is to amend the Indian Constitution by adding an additional clause to Article 51. Article 51 at present reads:

The State shall endeavour to—

(a) promote international peace and security;

(b) maintain just and honourable relations between nations;

(c) foster respect for international law and treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another; and

(d) encourage settlement of international disputes by arbitration.

The Bill provides an additional clause, that India shall:

(e) collaborate with other nations for the early formation of a World Constituent Assembly to draft a constitution for a world federal government.

This proposal was initiated separately from that of the work being carried out by the World Constitution and Parliament Assocation. Indeed it was only later than Kamath got to hear about the WCPA. The essential point is that Kamath recognized that India could set a definite example in working for a new world order. The speech was well received. The Indian Parliament is still considering it.

Australian MPs should follow the Indian example. There would not need to be an amendment to the Constitution. But such an initiative (like the long-debated amendment regarding Aborigines in 1967) would be useful in creating a favourable groundswell of public opinion and prove to politicians that Australians do believe that there should be a new world order.

Finally, we must be ready to accept new ways of thinking. For example, there has long been the view that this country will continue to get rich indefinitely and that the best way to improve the material well-being of the poorer members of the community is to increase the size of the 'cake' to be sliced up. That old belief is no longer possible.

The environment can stand no longer the rapacious consumption of non-renewable sources of material and fossil fuels. We need to look elsewhere for our philosophies. Western nations have been proud of their role in exporting their ideas to Third World countries. Perhaps the time has now come for us to see what the Third World's traditional cultures have to offer us in our hour of need. Toffler's prosumer communities with electronic cottages are similar to the self-reliant communities found throughout the Third World. These communities know that people think of themselves partly in terms of the work which they carry out. If they have no work, then they lose their sense of identity and sink into despair, if not anti-social activities. The micro-processor ('chip') is already making some people in Australia unemployed and many more jobs will go in the next few years. More attention has to be paid by politicians to providing jobs. The present economic problems are not temporary inconveniences; they signal massive economic dislocation. Politicians (and trade-unionists and business people) need to recognize the immensity of the problem. They should facilitate the development of local community industries. There should be far more attention to the development of alternative technologies and renewable energy sources. Australian cities are too large and people should be encouraged to live in other locations. These points are made, not as a specific program of reforms, but simply as an indication of the way in which we should all be more willing to accept what may appear to be very radical ideas.

The Personal Imperative

The next few decades will not be easy. Glue-like economic growth has held society together. Major social unrest has been avoided in recent years largely because most people have been assured that the present system could eventually satisfy all their demands for more money and better living standards. So long as the standards of living continued to improve, Australians were disinclined to question the economic, social and political system in which they lived. But soon the secret will be out. The system is collapsing and living standards will decline. The glue holding society together will soon break up. It is impossible to forecast how much social violence will take place then, or what form it will take.

But it is important not to sink into a sense of helplessness in the

face of the growing storm. On the contrary it is important to adopt a positive attitude. Wars and natural disasters have shown that the worst events usually bring out the best in people. There is hope. It is possible that we do not have enough time to prevent the international madness which threatens us. But we would be mad not to try. The world is small enough for world wars — why not for world peace?

There are two main areas of hope. First, we have a new way of looking at the world and responding to its problems. Now we are able to view the globe as a totality. We are planetary citizens rather than beings based only on one plot of land. The progress covered in the previous two chapters has been based on the growing realization that in reality there are not First, Second and Third Worlds etc, but only Our World, One World. Meanwhile, science and technology, though we have been misusing them of late, still do provide us with more intellectual power than all of our forebears combined ever enjoyed.

Second, we have the outlines of an organizational basis for Our World. The next stage of international development, though the specific outlines are not yet clear, will consist of the following features. There will be some form of world government or central authority, to identify the major problems and direct resources to their solution. Lower down there will be organizations not based within a specific geographical area: the non-governmental organizations and transnational corporations (or whatever forms these bodies evolve into). There will be federations of present nation-states. Then there will be local communities, with a large degree of self-reliance and autonomy. There there will be you and me.

In his memoirs, U Thant *(View From the UN,* David & Charles, London, 1977) pointed the way:

> A new quality of planetary imagination is demanded from all of us as the price of human survival. I am not decrying that form of nationalism that prompts the individual citizen to appreciate and praise the achievements and values that his native land has contributed to the well-being and happiness of the world human race. Nor am I calling for international homogenization, for I rejoice in cultural and national uniqueness. But I am making a plea — a plea based on these ten years of looking at the human condition from my unique vantage point — for a dual allegiance.

This implies an open acceptance of belonging — as in fact we all do — to the human race as well as to our local community or nation. I even believe that the mark of the truly educated and imaginative person facing the twenty-first century is that he feels himself to be a planetary citizen.

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FURTHER INFORMATION

"One World or No World" is perhaps the key point of this book. It is hoped that having read this book, people will now want to become more involved in groups working towards the creation of a one world consciousness. General Information is available from: P.O. Box 84, Camperdown, NSW 2050.

Subscription details of these magazines are available from the following addresses:
The New Humanity and *Evolution:* 51a York Mansions, Prince of Wales Drive, London SW 11, England.
World Peace News: 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, New York, 10017, USA.

The following groups are mentioned in the book:
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Institute for World Order, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, New York, 10017, USA.
International Registry of World Citizens, 55 rue Lacepede, 75005 Paris, France.
Emergency World Council Frederik Hendriklaan 26, The Hague, The Netherlands.
Global Citizens Association, P.O. Box 94, Stansland, Quebec, Canada.
Parliamentarians for World Order, 3501 Idaho Avenue NW, Suite 218, Washington DC, USA.
World Citizens Assembly, World Affairs Centre, Suite 608, 312 Sutter Street, San Francisco, CA. 94108, USA.
World Constitution and Parliament Association, 1480 Hoyt Street, Suite 31, Lakewood, CO. 80215, USA.

* * * * *

Other groups which are not mentioned in this book but which are working towards a new world order, include:
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Peoples' Congress, 15 rue Victor Duruy, 75015 Paris, France.
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Centre for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, CA. 93193, USA.